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PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

LABOR UNIONS: REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE
TO 5TH GENERAL CONGRESS

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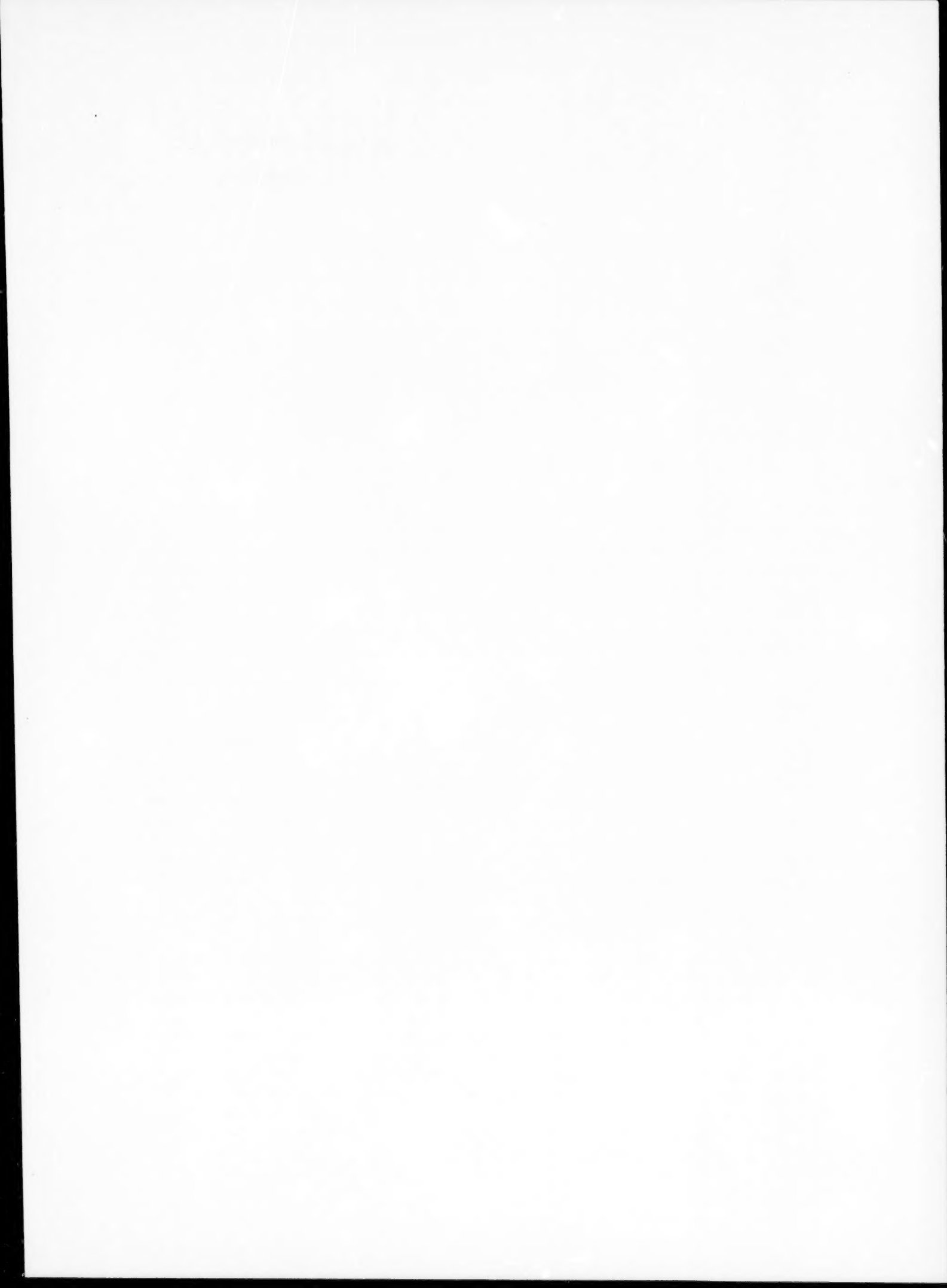
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Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 21, 22, 23, 24 Oct 86

[Article: "The Central Committee's General Report, Presented to the Fifth General ANID Conference"]

[21 Oct 86 pp 4, 5]

[Text] May the role of the Yemeni working class and its union movement in defending the Yemeni revolution, carrying out the 5-year plan and realizing Yemeni unity be realized.

Introduction

Female comrade and male comrade delegates to the conference:

It is a great historic occasion that the fifth general conference of the general federation of unions is convening approximately 9 months after the triumph of our Yemeni Socialist Party over the vilest, filthiest conspiracy the history of our Yemeni nation has known — this unsuccessful coup conspiracy of bloody 13 January which was led by the traitor to the revolution and the nation, the man of evil repute, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, and his treasonous gang. In spite of the flagrant damage and the grievous sacrifices the fighting men of our party, the masses of our people and the military and security organizations made, headed by the faithful son of the Yemeni working class and the founder of our fighting party, which is prominent in the Yemeni and Arab national movement and the world revolutionary movement, Comrade 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il, his glorious comrades the historic leaders of our party, 'Antar, Muslih and Sha'i', and a cavalcade of martyrs who were members of the central committee, personnel in the party and the military, security and civil organizations, and a number of the martyrs of our glorious people:

Our consolation is triumph and progress along the same road toward whose end the best of the honorable fighting men sought death in battle. From this premise, the majesty and significance of this conference of ours stands out in the conscience, feelings and senses of the working class and its union movement, which must be embodied in the important results our conference will yield up along the road to continuing the course of the struggle to

achieve the tasks of the national democratic revolution with its socialist perspectives. Our fifth general conference acquires utmost importance in that it constitutes an important stage for evaluating the course of our union activity in the past 5 years in various political, economic, social and cultural contexts and taking off from them to uplift the conditions of union activity and strengthen the status and role of the working class and its union movement in the activity of the government and the society.

Female comrade and male comrade delegates to the conference:

The year 1986 witnessed the unsuccessful coup conspiracy and the tragic events of bloody 13 January, but it has been replete with mass, political, economic, social and cultural activities and undertakings which in their totality have constituted an important political phenomenon in the development of the revolution and society, in spite of the economic, social and psychological effects the conspiracy and the tragic events on bloody 13 January left on our country. The year 1986 has been the year of the complete election cycle for all mass organizations through which the masses asserted the extent of their approval of their political vanguard, the Yemeni Socialist Party, and their condemnation of and revulsion at the conspiracy and the unsuccessful coup attempt which the man of evil repute, the traitor 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, and his treasonous clique carried out. Through extensive voluntary participation, these masses demonstrated dominance over its destructive effects.

As we review the experience of our union activity for the 5 past years with you, it is important to assert that a totality of successes and bright and brilliant considerations has been realized during the past period thanks to our party's honorable fighting men of principle and thanks to the efforts, perseverant labor and creative initiatives of the masses of our people, headed by our working class, in spite of the desperate attempts engaged in by the reactionary right wing, represented by the symbol of treason 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, within the party and throughout the government and the society to twist the party's ideological and class platform, weaken the struggle of the working class and turn the process of its historic struggle away from its proper course. The performance of numerous volunteer initiatives, production competitions and labor undertakings aimed at strengthening the position on work, carrying out its plans and programs and making voluntary donations of a day's salary each month in 1986 on behalf of the reconstruction of the capital are to be considered absolute proof of these masses' genuineness and their love of their revolution, their nation and their leading party, the party of the Yemeni working class.

Female comrade and male comrade delegates to the conference:

Today, as we are holding our fifth general conference of the General Federation of Unions, which is to be considered the consummation of the mass organizations' conferences, in culmination of our union movement's complete election cycle, we register, with utmost pride and glory and our extreme appreciation for our country's workers and toilers, and greatly cherish, the combative spirit which is constantly being rejuvenated and the precious, grievous sacrifices they have offered and are offering for the sake of

maintaining the revolution and on behalf of the country's economic and social progress along the road to the realization of the tasks of the democratic national revolution with socialist perspectives. We find that the results of these creative efforts of our country's workers and toilers, headed by the working class, have been undoubtedly reflected in the constant rise in our people's material and spiritual life in the past period, requiring the continuation of these efforts, the strengthening of the position of self-discipline toward work and an increase in work productivity at lower costs and with good quality. To this end, continuing the job and redoubling efforts are incumbent upon the new leadership, embodied in the central councils and all leadership boards in the unions, the labor councils and the union councils, for the sake of setting out programs and plans organizing the workers' activity, all their initiatives and the effort to solve the working people's issues and concerns and defend their legitimate and just rights and interests. Our working class has realized brilliant successes in the economic and social spheres and has carried out a number of work plans and programs in the organizations, factories, farms and cooperatives and in numerous sectors of the domestic economy. In spite of the emergence of a number of negative features, deficiencies and failures in some work and production installations, nonetheless, the successes the working class has realized stress anew its historic responsibility and the rise in its political and ideological awareness.

The experiment of the production competitions, the mass labor initiatives, the undertakings, the formation of volunteer work teams in work and production installations and the execution of work plans and programs before their scheduled times on occasions, and at their scheduled times on other occasions, have constituted a reserve of experience within the working class and its union movement which has accumulated and gained momentum within it in the past period, in addition to the historic experience of their long course of struggle, which has become the object of pride and glory in the historic record of the struggle of our working class and its union movement, and it is a matter on which reliance and guidance will be constantly placed in developing the historic experience of the struggle of the working class and its union movement in our country in the course of their subsequent struggle.

A group of cultural and ideological activities occurred and a number of union personnel in the foreign and domestic contexts were accredited during the past period. This report of ours will deal with all the developments and failures which have occurred in this realm.

In the context of the development of organizational activity and the internal life of the federation and the unions, one can say that experience has become accumulated within our union movement through the successes and failures which have stood out in the framework of union work. However, it is necessary to recognize that the magnitude of the negative features and failures has greatly exceeded that of the positive features, since the weakness of the link between the central leadership boards of the federation and the other boards on the one hand, and between most of the elected boards and the masses of the workers on the other, has been the predominant, conspicuous characteristic which manifested itself most clearly to the union men and

workers, and is the thing which has led to the phenomenon of bureacuratic office work, not to speak of the mediocre level of planning and execution of decisions, the mediocre treatment of planning, accreditation and distribution of personnel, the low level of statistical activity, the mediocre treatment of documents, foremost among them the federation's bylaws, as appeared prominently in the framework of the federation's activity, and postponement and laxity in treatment of the organizational principles which are firmly linked to the overall course of union activity.

In the field of industrial affairs, industrial security, vocational safety and social insurance, efforts have been exerted in the course of our union activity, but these efforts have taken place in conjunction with a number of negative phenomena which can be dealt with in a special section in this part of our report. In the area of foreign activity, development has occurred in our bilateral relations with a number of Arab union organizations and organizations in the socialist countries, and our federation's status has become more deeply ingrained in the framework of the world union movement through our presence in the membership of the world federation of unions. Our federation also plays an effective role in the Arab union movement through its membership in the International Federation of Arab Workers' Unions, which has strengthened the combative and internationalist solidarity between our working class and its union movement and Arab and international union organizations and the working class against various forms of repression and persecution and on the side of liberation, social progress and peace.

Our bilateral relations with the unions in the socialist countries, foremost among them the federation of unions in the Union of Socialist Republics, since we are linked by a 20-year treaty of friendship and cooperation -- a treaty, which, day by day, is embodied in the development and strengthening of our warm combative bilateral relations in various contexts -- occupy special importance.

Female comrade, male comrade delegates to the conference:

Our fifth general conference, with its conspicuous significance, is distinguished in that it is being convened at the same time as the host of celebrations of the masses of our Yemeni people in both halves of the glorious revolutions of 26 September and 14 October which have opened a new dawn and broad scope for the struggles of the masses of our people on behalf of freedom, social progress and unity. This draws us to emphasize the continuation of our pressing demand, on the podium of our conference, in the name of the working class, and we consider all efforts which the leadership of our party exerts along the road of planting security and stability more deeply in the two halves of our beloved Yemen to be the road toward the attainment of the Yemeni people's goals and aspirations toward progress, prosperity and Yemeni unity. To this end, we urge our brothers in the command of the northern half of our Yemeni nation to continue efforts toward unification with the leadership of our party by reinvigorating the unity committees and the higher Yemeni council, continuing to facilitate the movement of citizens between the two halves and reinvigorating common economic institutions, because of the good that entails for the Yemeni people along the road to economic integration and realization of the Yemeni people's aspirations toward the attainment of Yemeni unity on sound, democratic bases.

Female comrade, male comrade delegates to the conference:

In the next few days the masses of our people will be greeting the cycle of elections to the local people's council's and the higher people's council and will be participating purely out of their own will in choosing their candidates, and the citizens have the full right to elect and be elected, which will give the masses a full opportunity to take part in strengthening the people's democratic powers in our country -- this unique experiment which needs to be planted more deeply and have its foundations developed, on grounds that it represents the broad alliance, under the leadership of the working class in our country. Here is a review of the totality of activities which have taken place on the various political, economic, cultural and social levels and other union activities in the remaining areas.

Chapter One

Organizational Conditions and Development of the Internal Life of the Federation and the Unions

Female comrades, male comrades:

The period which lay between the two conferences was characterized by the regular preparation of plans and programs for the federation, the general unions, the labor councils and the union base committees, since planning is the scientific method for constantly improving the areas of union activity. However, these plans and programs were not capable of being carried out. Through our federation's experience with work in the past period, they were considered to be the plans of the central council and its general secretariat; they would be approved, then put into general application among the general unions and the labor councils in the governorates so that the tasks cited in them and listed in and through their plans would be assumed and brought down to the union base committees in the work and production facilities, which in turn reflect these in their annual plans.

In the past, the process of making plans and programs was imbued with certain negative features, since they were not approved at their specific times at the beginning of each year. An example of that are the two plans of the central council and its general secretariat for 1985, which were approved on 11 February. On top of that, they did not take account of the limited, sparse resources of the union groups, because they depended on forcibly introducing many subjects, some of which were connected to other bodies, which the union frameworks could not carry out. Previously, the central council's plan for 1982 contained 83 subjects for three sessions. The secretariat general's plan for the same year contained 64 subjects. This constituted a heavy burden on the intermediate and base union groups and imposed upon them the preparation of reports in most cases rather than orienting them to consolidate the role of union activity among the milieux of the workers and toilers in our country. This asserts that the experiment of planning activity was not concentrated on scientific bases and realistic data.

The evaluation of the level of execution of the plans of the central council and its secretariat general was disorganized in terms of the submission of

evaluation reports of general secretariat meetings and central council sessions for the sake of pausing to consider the sum total of the difficulties which became conspicuous in the course of execution and also ascertaining areas of weakness and giving an opportunity for proper remedies, with the objective of getting rid of them, eliminating negative features and developing positive features in a manner which would respond to the attainment of increasing growth in our union movement so that it could perform its tasks in the desired form. It was also observed that the pauses for evaluation and correct remedies to which the central council members contributed by presenting constructive views and recommendations aimed at the avoidance of all failures which might appear during the execution of the plans of the central council and its general secretariat were not taken into consideration by the federation's previous leadership when formulating and executing the new plans. Thus, mistakes and negative features continued to repeat themselves and become exacerbated year after year. Therefore, the annual evaluation reports of the level of execution of the plans of the central council and its general secretariats in previous years show that the course of execution of the plans took place as follows:

The number of tasks planned for the central council in the past period came to 132, and those which were carried out to 134, for a rate of execution of 102 percent. The number of tasks planned for the central council's secretariat in the past period came to 220, and 208 were carried out, for a rate of execution of 95 percent. In spite of the high percentages the numerical indices show upon evaluation, the results derived from these reports, in which the efforts of various union groups are made, were not translated into decisions; although the boards took decisions regarding some of them, they did not find their way to execution, which is something which in the final results led to the emergence of a feeling on the part of a broad number of unions and workers that all the efforts made regarding the preparation of reports and the provision of recommendations went to waste, and the presentation of reports continued to be just for presentation and nothing else.

If we seek to evaluate the level of execution of the reports of the central council and its general secretariat and certain other reports in the past period, it will be difficult for us to give an accurate evaluation of this because the federation did not have organized files for retaining and following up on the execution of decisions on the one hand and executive plans were not set out to carry them out on the other. This prevented determination of the number and total of the decisions which were adopted in the past period. However, it is most important for the federation's new leaders to seek to benefit from these negative considerations and be anxious to avoid them in the framework of their activity and work in the period to come.

Female comrades, male comrades:

The fourth general conference of the general federation of unions held in the period 15-17 September 1981 produced 15 decrees in all foreign, organizational, economic, ideological and industrial areas, in addition to important decrees related to our union movement's participation in the execution of the second 5-year plan, 1981-85, and also to the strengthening and implanting of the unity of our union movement, north and south, and the

strengthening of combative relations with our class allies, the peasants' federation. It also stressed an important historic decree with respect to our Yemeni working class and its union movement, which is the execution of the decree on voluntary membership.

In the light of that, the number of decrees carried out came to 12, or a rate of 80 percent. One should bear in mind that the rate of execution of some decrees was not complete; for example; the decrees included ideological considerations regarding six tasks, of which those that were not carried out came to three, for a rate of 50 percent:

1. The formation of propaganda and instigation teams.
2. The use of qualified union personnel.
3. The setting out of athletic and musical programs and the organization of cultural soirees.

With respect to industrial relations and social insurance, the social insurance department was not established, and three decrees were not carried out, for a rate of 20 percent; these were:

1. The decree executing voluntary membership.
2. A decree on strengthening the class alliance between workers and peasants.
3. A decree regarding the unity of the Yemeni union movement.

There are other internal decrees whose execution was not monitored. These are connected to the strengthening and cohesiveness of the unity of the organization of the union movement, guaranteeing the attainment of unity of the struggle of the Yemeni working class and the strengthening of the bonds between its union leaders and the country's workers.

With respect to the decree bearing on the reorganization of vocational councils containing a number of union committees throughout the governorates which would be subordinate to the general unions, based on Article 31 of our federation's bylaws, one can say that in spite of the essential, tangible pressing need demanding that haste had to be made to reorganize the vocational councils, this issue has not received attention and followup, although the experience of union activity in the past period has most clearly and plainly revealed that a disturbance has become prominent in the level and nature of the relationship that exists between the union committees and their general unions on the one hand and the labor councils in the governments and directorates on the other. The appearance of a great gap between the general unions and the union committees subordinate to them in the governorates has perforce arisen from this situation, and this has led to the lack of vital interaction and a weakness in ties among the union base leaders in the general unions. As a reflection of that, a negative phenomenon has appeared in our union activity which has been embodied in the absence of some of the general unions' central plans and programs among the union

committees. When they were brought down to the union committees, they arrived late, and while the union committees have adopted some of the commitments cited in these plans, it is necessary to review their plans of action, so that these central duties whose performance is their responsibility may be gradually carried out. In addition, they face difficulties in their execution because the necessary guidelines regarding them failed to be passed on. In addition, all the general unions and their union committees must work to rid themselves of all negative features in our union activity in the stage to come and prepare the circumstances for strengthening and developing the ties and interaction among the various union boards and groups on the one hand and among them and the country's workers on the others.

Female comrades, male comrades:

Consolidation of the unions' role in the country's political, economic and social life has received a degree of attention and concern from our leading party, the Yemeni Socialist Party, a pause was made on numerous occasions by the central committee, the political bureau and the secretariat of the central committee to consider the unions' conditions, and a group of remedies and decrees were adopted which had the goal of promoting the unions' activities on various levels so that they could occupy the position suited to them as a labor organization of class struggle on behalf of the working class in the society.

In this context, as we proceed to discuss the decrees and ways of dealing with them, it is necessary to refer to those decrees which the central boards of the party took. In the period between the two conferences, nine comprehensive decrees were taken, from which a group of subsidiary missions and decrees branched out.

These decrees were connected to the strengthening and development of the unions' internal conditions, the strengthening of their bond with the workers, the enhancement of their political, economic, social and cultural role and the planning, accreditation and distribution of personnel by setting out a system of work with personnel and lists of positions. These decrees were connected to the strengthening of the unions' role in the struggle against various negative manifestations in work, against the phenomena of bribery, embezzlement, corruption and the squandering of public money, and against administrative corruption and the bureaucratic style, and for the sake of strengthening the role of the working class and its union movement in protecting the new economic forms, in their forefront the public sector and the cooperative sector. The decrees were also connected to the role of the unions in overseeing the execution of labor legislation.

Regarding the level of execution of these decrees, the evaluation shows us that the rate of execution came to 67 percent, since it is clearly apparent that the party decrees were dealt with as similar decrees adopted by the leadership boards in the unions were, since the phenomenon of indifference, inattentiveness and lack of attention to the decrees which were adopted by the party boards, the central leaders and also the union boards was dominant and conspicuous in the activity, work and style of some former leadership personnel, who were concerned only with their own interests. This is a

reflection of these personnel's position vis-a-vis the treasonous clique in the party and government leadership before the unsuccessful coup conspiracy on black 13 January.

The sum total of the decrees the party leadership boards and the union boards took, in their substance and in their ideological, political and class essence, constituted a consolidation of the role of the working class and its union movement in various areas of the public life of the government and the society and had the aim of strengthening the influence of the working class and union organization and increasing its quantitative, qualitative effective and influential weight in the activity and functioning of the society's political system. To this end, all honorable men of principle in the union movement worked on behalf of seeking to carry them out. However, conversely, there were those leadership personnel who worked to alleviate this struggle, and this created an obvious culling process with respect to positions on the political, class and ideological struggle which came to prominence in the context of the party and the government.

It is clear, from the experience of our party action and our union action, that all our union movement's program documents were set out on the basis of the ideological platform of the working class, the theory of scientific socialism. In addition, the various decrees and policies which were adopted relied on this platform. However, a great gap and vast imbalance between what had been resolved theoretically in the program documents and all the plans and what was practiced in reality appeared clearly and properly. That is an imbalance between theory and application, and that became apparent in various areas of the country's public activities. An obvious crisis which leadership centralization had created made its appearance. In the light of this, the culling process concerning positions on the political, class and ideological struggle which became apparent in the context of the party and the society was spelled out, and it was spelled out between two tendencies. The first was one of principle, fighting on behalf of the application of the program document and the laws and decrees adopted, linking theory to application, strengthening the leadership role of the party, the unions and the mass organizations, strengthening the ideological platform of the working class and realizing the country's economic, social and cultural transformations toward attainment of the tasks of the national democratic revolution with its socialist perspectives.

The second position's conviction in the ideology of the working class and commitment to the documents of the party and the laws and decrees the party and government adopt is apparent on the surface, and in practice it acts to strip them of their class, ideological and political substance and has the goal of weakening the leadership role of the party, the working class and its union movement in the country's public life.

Of course we do not intend here to evaluate the crisis which became prominent before the events of black 13 January and the nature, essence, background and turning points of the struggle, because an evaluation of that is not open to individual theorizing but is the business of the political leadership of our party, and all the fighting men of our party and the masses of our people in the second place. However, a quick passing reference to the

nature of this struggle and the culling which took place on the basis of positions in regard to it in the context of the party and the society has been necessary as we review these difficulties which obstructed action to carry out the decrees because of these personnel who had aligned their position with the latter orientation. Therefore we must benefit from that and work to rid ourselves of all these negative features and shortcomings in a manner which will guarantee that our working class and its union movement participate broadly and effectively and contribute to deepening and radicalizing the revolutionary process going on in the country.

Dealing with Organizational Principles in the Internal Life of the Federation and Unions

Female comrades, male comrades:

Our federation's bylaws have specified that the union organization is based on the foundation of the principles of democratic centralism and collective leadership, since these are the basic principles which govern the unions' internal life and determine the forms and methods of the leadership of union activity in the various union boards, those of the leadership and the base. Our federation's bylaws also consider the principle of criticism and self-criticism to be an important, basic principle for educating, avoiding negative features and discovering and discrediting errors and deficiencies which come to the fore in the context of union activity.

Evaluating the experience of our activity and our union work in the past 5 years, from the standpoint of the quality at which the level of treatment of the basic organizational principles of our union work proceeded, clearly reflects to us the obvious form of these erroneous practices which stood out in this regard among some higher union leaders, in particular among our federation's former leadership, which was given the task of leading and guiding the daily activity of all union groups and at times in its daily practices subjected these principles to whimsy and at other times to arbitrariness and laxity, which resulted in weakening the treatment of these principles in our union activity.

In the past period, the principle of democratic centralism in our union activity was treated with extreme, severe centralism, when the situation called for some leaders to insist on passing through some issues which the convictions of the clique of treason and conspiracy, foremost among them the traitor of ill-repute of the revolution and the nation 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, dictated to them, or when these leaders became fanatical over their subjective beliefs, which they often tried to impose on the conviction and will of the majority of union comrades in the various union boards and groups. This on the one hand, on most occasions, deprived this principle of an important aspect of its substance, that is, the exercise and expansion of democracy in the activity of the leadership and base union boards, the concern to adopt all their decrees as an expression of their collective will, and the strengthening of surveillance over the level of their execution. On the other hand, these union leaders went to excess with democracy on some occasions, especially when the adoption of any decree was the result of the goal for which all honorable unionists in the union movement have struggled,

strengthening the role of the working class in the country's political, economic, social and cultural life.

In reality, this manner of exercising democracy expressed a form of anarchism and lax liberalism which was based on the practices of the former leaders in our federation, who were connected to the personnel of the clique of the failed coup, with the goal of diluting, weakening and increasing [sic] the role of the union boards in bearing their historic responsibilities toward the revolution and the nation and performing their noble mission in the leadership of our country's workers and their vanguard, our Yemeni working class, on behalf of building their new Yemeni society with socialist perspectives. The bonds of the principle of democratic centralism are not separate from the realization of its creative goals in developing the internal life of the unions, thanks to the dialectical bond between its two basic aspects, centralism and democracy. Any weakening of one of the two sides or the preponderance of one over the other will not just inflict flagrant damage on the essence and substance of this whole principle, as happened previously, but will also weaken the leadership role of our union movement, united in the context of the general federation of unions.

Female comrades, male comrades:

An investigative, analytical look at the condition of union life and the level of development of the forms of the relationship between the union base boards and the leadership boards in the past period, in the context of the principle of democratic centralism, will tangibly reveal to us that this relationship did not witness a specific development which would be commensurate with the increasing tasks and burdens assigned to our union movement, since the principle of democratic centralism was dealt with in a deficient, uncreative manner representing a lack of precise commitment to submitting reports and sending down general directives on the activities of the higher boards to the lower ones in an organized manner in the suitable, desired time periods, and also a lack of orderliness in the process of submitting reports concerning the activity of the lower boards to the higher ones, which, if they were submitted, would arrive late in most cases and would not receive adequate care in their handling by some leaders, in addition to a lack of serious, responsible interest in adopting the lower boards' observations on issues and recommendations of union activity with the goal of dealing with and correcting the negative features and deficiencies which appeared in conjunction with this activity.

The sum total of these superficial applications of this principle resulted in weakening the relationship and bond between the leadership of the federation and the leaders of the general unions and labor councils on the one hand and the general unions and the labor councils and union committees on the other, and this had an extreme effect on the vigor and interaction of the lower union boards and the higher union ones, and they lost dynamism of movement in the continued constant, coordinated development of the various aspects of their common union activities. As a result of that the phenomenon of office work also became prominent in our union activity; this is a phenomenon of bureaucracy which marked the style of activity of the former leadership of our federation and some leaders of other union groups and was

based only on those reports which reached them from the lower union bodies, while they did not go down to get a feel for the workers' conditions and life, hear their concerns and set out successful remedies and solutions in their regard, which ultimately resulted in weakening the bond between these union leaders and the worker bases in the work and production installations.

Female comrades, male comrades:

While we have reviewed some negative features of our activity, as we are evaluating the course of treatment of the principle of democratic centralism, it is necessary to recognize that bright features have been realized in the course of the experience of our union activity thanks to the unremitting struggle of all honorable men in our union movement, and the expertise, experience and successes which have been realized for our union movement all along the course of its historic struggle will guarantee that the difficulties and obstacles which have stood out and stand out here and there in the context of union activity will be transcended. However, it is most important to stress the need for the increased role of the various leadership boards of the federation and the unions, the worker councils and the union committees in the work and production facilities in the coming stage for the sake of liquidating all negative phenomena and ameliorating the conditions of the working class and the union movement so they may play their effective, influential role in the country's political, economic, cultural and social life.

Female comrades, male comrades:

The principle of collective leadership is connected to the principle of democratic centralism by firm ties and it is impossible to separate them, since they complement one another as far as the leadership's method of work and activity are concerned. In the period between the two conferences, the principle of collective leadership was dealt with in the context of the boards and upon the adoption of decrees, but most of the time it was pervaded by a superficial character, that is, if the influence and effect of this principle in the actual conditions of life and daily practice were not nonexistent they were weak, since decrees were adopted by a majority in the boards to no avail, as they were adopted in accordance with this principle if they did not end up being carried out, and did not receive any attention as far as the followup of their execution was concerned -- indeed, their contents were sometimes watered down and they would be deprived of substance.

From the foregoing, it is tangibly revealed to us that the superficial treatment of this principle, aside from being dialectically affected by the mediocre manner by which the principle of democratic centralism was dealt with, also imparted its negative effects on the proper exercise of personal responsibility and disrupted the execution of the principle of stock-taking on the basis of the bylaws, as well as suffocating the spirit of the creative and innovative initiative of the union members.

Therefore, it is compulsory that we, as we deal with the evaluation of the process of our union activity in the light of the principle of collective leadership, stress the issue of fighting certain negative individual

phenomena which appeared in conjunction with our union activity in the past period and impeded its desired development, such as the narcissism, pride and arrogance which were most clearly manifested at the apex of the political, class and ideological struggle which appeared in the party and society before the events of the conspiracy of accursed 13 January, where the former leadership of our federation tried in service of the interests of the symbols of the coup clique to transform the union into superficial facades which trumpeted, drummed and applauded for the individual, gave glory to his grace and glorified him, since that became prominent in a number of enlarged union meetings and in the various labor meetings and festivals. In spite of that, the honorable principled union leadership stood up to these elements and persevered firmly in the face of their wrongful practices and constant attempts to divert the struggle of our Yemeni working class and its union movement from its true, proper course.

As for criticism and self-criticism, the treatment of that was characterized by some frivolity and superficiality. Criticism was not exercised in most cases although it was cited as a constant subsection in the agenda of the union leadership boards' meetings as a means for educating, holding people to account and criticizing errors and deficiencies. Rather, it was restricted to the context of the avoidance of meetings and the failure to submit reports on time in accordance with the approved plans.

Union Meetings and the Election Cycles

Female comrades, male comrades:

The regular holding of periodic meetings for the union leadership and base groups acquires exceptional importance as it expresses the extent of these frameworks' commitment to the federation's bylaws and reflects the level of their concern to follow up on the execution of the tasks which have been specified and sketched out for them in the plans and programs approved, in the event they effectively use the basic organizational principles in the context of these meetings and express their extreme, unremitting interest in following up on the execution of their decrees in a proper, creative way. That is something which did not meet with tangible, developed repercussions during the period between the two conferences, although this period was characterized by regularity in the holding of periodic meetings, as far as the central council and its general secretariat and most general secretariats of the unions and labor councils in the governments and directorates and their general councils were concerned.

As regards the monthly meetings of the union committees, their regularity was subjected on the one hand to the level and nature of the effective relationship existing between them and the higher union groups and on the other to the level and degree of their members' effectiveness and receptivity to union activity. Above and beyond that, enlarged meetings with workers did not receive adequate attention from the union leadership groups in spite of their importance in tightening up the conditions of the base union committees, listening to the recommendations and views of the workers and strengthening their solidarity around their union movement.

All in all, the number of meetings of the former secretariat general of the federation in the period from 1982 to 1985 came to 94, a ratio of 107

percent relative to what was planned (88 meetings), with a rate of attendance of 77 percent, rate of absence of 21 percent, and unexcused absences of 20 percent. The rate of execution was 157 percent. In the first half of 1986, the higher preparatory committee of the federation's fifth general conference held 11 meetings, as compared with what had been planned (eight meetings), with a rate of attendance of 84 percent and excused absences of 16 percent. These meetings were devoted to treatment of the deteriorated union conditions resulting from the practices of the former leadership of the federation and also to pausing to consider issues related to the special election cycle for the union movement this year.

The federation's central council held 16 sessions, for a rate of execution of 107 percent, or one additional to those that had been planned, with an attendance rate of 76 percent, an absence rate of 15 percent and unexcused absences of 9 percent. On 22 February 1986 an exceptional session was held to pause to consider a report on the events of the conspiracy of black 13 January. This exceptional session, important and historic in the life of our union movement, adopted a number of decrees, among them the dismissal of the former leadership of our federation from their union tasks because of involvement in the bloody events. A higher preparatory committee was elected to supervise the full election cycle of the union movement, and the committee was given the responsibility of leadership of the federation's union activity and supervision of the unions and the labor councils until the convening of our current conference. In addition, 11 members were dismissed from membership in the central council because of their participation and involvement with the clique of the unsuccessful coup. We are attaching a list to this report giving the number of central council sessions and the level of attendance and absence.

Female comrades, male comrades:

The period between the two conferences witnessed the holding of the annual electoral meetings of the union base committees for 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985 and 1986, which constituted stages for pausing to evaluate union base activity in the work and production installations and learning the extent of the union base groups' ability to carry out their union tasks and strengthen their combative role in the revolutionary process underway in our country. These paved the way for all workers and honorable union personnel to exercise their democratic rights regarding the selection of competent new union leaders able to sacrifice and innovate, in spite of the various forms of harassment, tutelage and illegitimate interference in the will of the workers to choose true real union representatives which the elements of the opportunistic right-wing current pursued in the course of the election meetings to the union base committees.

The number of union base committee election meetings in 1982 totalled 679; 679 union committees, whose members came to 4,889 in number, were formed on the basis of these. In 1983, 732 union committees were elected, whose members came to 5,238 in number, an increase of 53 union committees in 1982. In 1984, 769 union committees were elected, and the number of their members came to 5,499, an increase of 37 union committees over 1983. In addition, 828 union committees were elected in 1985, whose members came to 5,872 in

number, an increase of 59 union committees over 1984, and 586 union committees were elected in 1986 and the number of their members came to 6,345, an increase of 58 union committees over 1985.

In the period between the two conferences, our union movement, in 1983, witnessed an intermediate union base committee election cycle and the holding of labor council conferences in the directorates and governorates. In the present year, 1986, the fifth full election cycle of the union movement was held, beginning with the union base committee election cycles, passing through the holding of the conferences of the directorates, governorates and general unions, and crowned by our fifth general conference of the general federation of unions.

This cycle acquired special importance as it was held in the context of the historic victory of our Yemeni Socialist Party and our great people over the failed coup conspiracy by the traitor 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and his apostate clique, the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of our union movement, and the 100th anniversary of the holiday of the world working class. The fifth election cycle also constituted a political and economic manifestation of the Yemeni working class' solidarity with its party, the Yemeni Socialist Party, and its correct policy, and extensive cultural and ideological activity within the circles of workers and toilers, which had the goal of explaining the dangers and dimensions of the events of the conspiracy of accursed 13 January in all political, economic and social areas and facing our Yemeni working class with its historic responsibility of eliminating the phenomena of destruction and ruin which afflicted our domestic economy through this vile bloody crime.

One can say that our union movement's fifth election cycle is distinguished from the preceding cycles by special significance in the sense that following the elimination of the elements of the coup clique, it is the prelude to a new era of serious, unremitting action to develop the various aspects of union work and activity and open broad scope for our Yemeni working class and its union movement to mobilize their innovative abilities and powers toward building the tomorrow for a happy prosperous Yemen. With this figure, we can point out that 24 conferences have been held, of which 13 were for labor councils in the governorates and directorates and 11 were for general unions.

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[Text] The relationship between our federation's former leadership and the general unions and labor councils vacillated and was not commensurate with the commitment and the creative application of the organizational bases and principles cited in the bylaws of our federation and its goals, which are aimed at strengthening and consolidating the spirit of comradely unity of our various union groups in the context of our fighting organization, the General Federation of Unions, since the spirit of allegiances and personal relations totally remote from principled treatment based on a foundation of the position of the morality of our union movement and the decrees of their higher leadership bodies' conferences and sessions, and the level of the effective effort exerted for the sake of giving them form in the context of

actual practice in a tangible manner, dominated this relationship on many occasions. In addition, our federation's former leadership in the previous period did not express adequate interest in the subject of setting out and developing bills regulating our union activity, founded on the bylaws and guaranteeing the coordination of various aspects of union activity and the creation of coordinated integration among its various ties in a manner which would strengthen its role and increase its effectiveness. This matter was negatively reflected in the previous period on the relationship between the general unions and the union base committees: its presence was restricted to the Governorate of Aden and it was almost absent with the union committees in the other governorates of the republic. In addition, because of that, a form of fragmentation and antipathy dominated the relations between some general unions and labor councils, and efforts toward solving the problems and issues of the workers and developing the various aspects of unified common union activity were not combined between them. To the contrary, fabricated disputes and struggles between the secretariats general of the unions and the labor council of the Governorate of Aden were deepened, for example, and an organizational bill determining the relationship between them was set out by virtue of which the industrial relations and social security department was separated from the Aden Governorate labor council and restricted to the tasks of the general unions only, contrary to the stipulations of the bylaws, which led to the weakening of the Aden Governorate labor council's role in carrying out its union missions in this regard.

Among the negative, erroneous phenomena and practices which stood out during the previous period and reflected the annoyance and boredom of the federation's former leadership with democratic practice and its recourse to the shortest routes to solving the tasks assigned it was the prevention by the leadership of central committee members who did not engage in union tasks in union and labor council general secretariats from actually participating in union activities and proceedings and its failure to benefit from their expertise and experience in carrying out any union assignments, in addition to its practices, which were aimed at spoiling the combative spirit of our Yemeni working class by encouraging some unions to grant cash sums to workers for their participation in mass festivals devoted to the celebration of national and international occasions.

Therefore, female comrades, male comrades, the tasks laid before the elected central council and its secretariat general following the success of our fifth general conference include the remedy of these deteriorated conditions the previous leadership created in its relations with the various union groups and the innovation of new ways and means of developing combative relations of principle between the general unions and the labor councils and deeply establishing bases for good relations between the general unions and labor councils which will strengthen the role of union activity, give great care and attention to the union base committees, on grounds that they are the lungs through which our union movement breathes, and encourage the exchange of expertise and experience among the various union groups, in view of the importance this has in increasing the effectiveness of our union activity and raising it to higher levels.

In this respect, the issue of accrediting union personnel acquires extreme importance in supplying the leadership boards of the general unions and

labor councils in the governorates and directorates and the union base committees with competent, qualified and innovative leaders who are able to improve union activity. Therefore, the policy of the general federation of unions with respect to the accrediting of union personnel must be characterized by dynamism and by a statistical and informational character, by ascertaining and providing the union groups' needs for personnel in the period to come. The subject of the selection of personnel to be accredited is considered of extreme importance because of its connection with the strengthening of the role of union activity among the circles of our country's workers and toilers. That requires the setting out of sound, scientific bases concerning the selection of personnel remote from subjectivity and one-sided views or positions. The guarantee of this is acceleration of the establishment of the personnel section in the secretariat of the federation's central council.

The specifications which must be met by union personnel include a class background, loyalty to the Yemeni working class and its political vanguard the Yemeni Socialist Party, deep faith in its scientific thinking, scientific socialism, preservation of its purity, defense of it and propagation of it among the masses. They must have ability and skill to lead union groups, master the methods of union activity, combine theoretical knowledge with application and commitment to organizational principles, possess the spirit of initiative and innovation and make talk commensurate with action. They must be a model for others in their conduct and commit themselves to the principle of internationalist solidarity with the workers and peoples of the Arab countries and the socialist system and the other virtue- and peace-loving workers and peoples of the world.

Although the General Federation of Labor came before the other mass organizations in issuing a statute for dealing with personnel, before the convening of the federation's fourth general conference, it has not been carried out yet, on grounds that the bills regulating its execution, which determine the method for dealing with union personnel in the leadership bodies of the various union groups, were not issued, owing to fraud in coordination with the elements in the clique which dominated the party's central committee secretariat at that time in imposing some personnel of recent union experience on the central council secretariat, without attention to the proper criteria cited in the bill organizing the statute for dealing with personnel, in keeping with the conspirator 'Ali Nasir Muhammad's policy of removing principled union leaders committed to the party's platform from effective participation in the highest leadership board of our union movement, and the previous leadership of the federation imposed some personnel who were loyal to it on the secretariats general of the unions and some labor councils in the governorates although they had lost in the elections. An example of that is the secretary of the Aden Governorate labor council's defeat at the labor council conference in 1983 and its unremitting defense of such embezzlers in the union leadership as the former secretary general of the administrative and health services union, the former secretary general of the fish workers and the former second secretary of the Abyan Governorate labor council. The organizational bill attached to the list of leadership positions of the various union groups, including the organizations belonging to the federation, which the political bureau of the Yemeni Socialist Party had approved in December 1984, remained secret, and the central council of

the federation, the general unions and the labor councils did not read it. The higher preparatory committee of the fifth general council of the federation started to apply it in the fifth election cycle for 1986.

The Unions' Role in Strengthening the Popular Democratic Character of Power

Female comrades, male comrades:

The Yemeni Socialist Party is considered the legitimate heir of the national revolutionary movement and the Yemeni working class' struggles since the fifties and its political vanguard fighting for the sake of realizing its class interests and strategic goals in building its new Yemeni society. The party's program has shown the importance of the role of the unions and mass organizations in the revolutionary process underway in the country, as it stipulates "A great role is attributed to the mass organizations in all the economic, political, social and union fields of the revolutionary process and the development of democracy and, in the context of the application of the policy of the party and the government, they constitute an inseparable part of the instrument of the regime as a whole. Thanks to the principled position of all the honorable elements in the various party leadership boards, the democratic process within the party and the unions over the past 5 years has witnessed the growth of the party's support and interest in strengthening the role of our union movement in the country's political, economic and social life."

However, the opportunistic right-wing current, through its manipulation of the unsuccessful coup conspiracy against the leadership of the party and the government and against constitutional and legal legitimacy, managed to seek to have the former leadership of our federation and some unprincipled personnel in the general union leadership, which worked by various ways and all possible means to coopt our union movement, deprive it of its relative independence and rid the notion of the role of the leadership party of unions of its progressive scientific substance, orient themselves toward its conspiratorial schemes, on many occasions succeeded because of the vacillating positions of the federation's previous leadership in making the unions consist of pro forma facades attached to them, in the recent years obstructing our union movement's assumption of the increasing tasks within it, and would have threatened it with further deepening of the isolation and gap between them and the working masses, whose features began to appear most clearly on the surface, had it not been for our Yemeni Socialist Party's historic victory over the failed coup attempt which, by frustrating it, created the appropriate climate before our union movement to continue its brilliant historic combative role in mobilizing, organizing and leading our Yemeni working class's struggles in the direction of carrying out the tasks sketched out and specified for it in the program of our leading party, the Yemeni Socialist party, which were aimed at strengthening the leadership role of our Yemeni working class in the various political, economic, social and cultural spheres of life.

In view of the comprehensive nature of the conspiratorial scheme of the symbols of the opportunistic current and the depth of the struggle which stood out in the context of the party and the society, embracing the various

aspects of life in the country, the relationship of the labor councils' leadership boards with the leadership boards of the party organizations also differed throughout the governorates of the republic. The pockets of the opportunistic right-wing current which assumed the leadership of the tasks of the party organizations and labor councils in the Governorates of Aden, Abyan and Shabwah engaged in various forms of tutelage and blatant intervention in the affairs of the union groups present in these governorates, infringed on the role assigned to them of strengthening their status among the workers' circles, fought the principled union personnel in them and imposed some positions and measures on them which did not serve the interests of the workers in these governorates and had the goal of satisfying their desires for personal dominance, acquisition of the greatest possible amount of intrinsic advantages and so forth. The relationship between the leadership boards of the labor councils and the party leadership boards of the party organizations in the Governorates of Lahij, Hadramawt and al-Mahrah witnessed a perceptible improvement supported by the documents and literature of our Yemeni Socialist Party, which organized them and served the cause of improving and intensifying the conditions of union activity in them, strengthening its role among the circles of workers and raising and increasing tangible activity toward the realization of organized volunteer awareness at higher rates in the execution of the productive plans, in spite of some negative features which stood out because of the failure to realize a firmer, more solid development among certain party and union leadership boards in these governorates.

Therefore, the coming stage, in the framework of our Yemeni Socialist Party's leadership and its correct policy toward the unions, requires action of high attentiveness from us so that we may rid ourselves of all the negative features of the previous stage on behalf of strengthening the role of our union movement as a major buttress of the party by expressing extreme concern for the creative application of our union movement's program documents, literature and decrees with the goal of maintaining the relative independence of our country's unions and increasing their effective, influential role in performing their political, economic, social and cultural duties and those of defending the workers' rights and interests in this important stage of the development taking place in our country.

Female comrades, male comrades:

The establishment of the Yemeni Socialist Party, through its political program, has opened broad horizons before the Yemeni working class and its union movement for the realization of its extensive participation in administering the affairs of the government and the society, since the establishment of the party and approval of its program were followed by the issuance of the amended constitution in 1978, the establishment and emergence of the higher people's council and the local people's councils and the issuance of a number of progressive revolutionary laws organizing various social relations. All this had a great effect in the life of our country's workers and their union movement, leading to the strengthening of their solidarity with their leading party, the Yemeni Socialist Party, and the recording of a number of heroic exploits in the performance of the tasks of economic and social construction, preservation of revolutionary gains and achievements,

defense of the nation and thwarting of all forms of imperialist and reactionary conspiracy and attempts to deviate from the party's platform and revolutionary course, which speak for the interests of the masses of the people which toil the most severely.

In this regard, since the unions are the combative organization of the Yemeni working class, which constitutes an inseparable part of the instrument of our society's political system, reliance has been made on the constitution and the laws carrying it out to bring about their democratic representation in the highest agencies of the government's legislative and executive agencies and in the local people's assemblies, which have, in the past period, through the mobilization and massing of their members, made a direct contribution in making a success of their election cycles. In addition to that, they have been guaranteed the right of workers' representation in the various consultative bodies, boards of directors and workers' affairs committees present in the various work and production facilities for the sake of realizing their effective participation and bearing their full responsibility alongside the bodies and organizations of the party and the government in raising the level of the toilers' material and spiritual life, expanding democracy and getting the workers to take part in administering, planning and organizing the affairs of production and work, supervising them, strengthening discipline in work, raising work productivity, guiding spending, combatting manifestations of economic and social sabotage, establishing and implanting new economic forms and raising the level of class consciousness among the masses in a manner leading to strengthening of their link to the party.

In view of these broad rights and duties granted to our union movement, it is not possible, on the one hand, to ignore the gains and achievements which have been realized for our Yemeni working class over the last 5 years, which this report of ours will review in its various chapters, thanks to unremitting struggles and uncompromising firm stands on the part of the honorable principled union personnel who have ceaselessly defended the interests of the workers and their legitimate acquired rights in the face of all forms and attempts to devoid them of their progressive substance. However, on the other hand, from the actual state of the experience of our union activity, it is possible to say that these rights and duties granted to our union movement did not realize their full potential in actual practice by the former leadership of our federation and by some leaders of the leading union groups. The reason for that is not just attributable to these leaders' mediocre ability to exercise the powers granted to them and the low level of their interest in performing the tasks assigned, but is also attributable to the various forms and methods which the personnel of the opportunistic right-wing coup current in the leadership of the party and the government followed with the goal of repressing our union movement's exercise of its rights in full.

These unprincipled positions were reflected on the interests of our working class and their fear of the total unleashing of its powers and creative initiatives, with the result that it was not feasible for it to realize its principled choices of the vanguard personnel represented to assume their true place in the heart of the agencies of the party and the government.

This led in the outcome to the weakening of the role of our union movement in its relations with the government agencies. The situation, in the previous period, the agencies of the government on numerous occasions, reached the point of the expression of total obstinacy and uninhibited, unfettered rejection of the views and recommendations of our union movement concerning some important workers' issues, simply because of their feeling of the total support they enjoyed from the conspirator 'Ali Nasir Muhammad.

The former leadership of our federation did not consider its presence in the highest agencies of the legislative and executive power of the government to be representative of the collective will of our union movement, and it dealt with this as if it was representative of itself. This made it totally ignore the issue of getting the leadership union boards to participate in final decisionmaking which expressed the collective view of our union movement regarding the issues and subjects which were presented to the legislative and executive agencies of the government.

In general, the disruption of our Yemeni Socialist Party's program and the constitutional principles and laws in effect, which affirmed the importance of commitment and adherence to the principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership and the expansion of democracy in the context of the system of government authority to the exercise of its tasks, was a characteristic of the period that has elapsed, in which a number of pathological phenomena grew, flourished and thrived in the society that afflicted most agencies of the government, such as bureaucracy, administrative laxity and alienation from service of the interests of the workers and performance of their issues with a high spirit of responsibility and national feeling, not to speak of total neglect of the role and status of the union movement.

On this basis, in order to transcend the negative features of the previous stage, our union movement in the coming stage must perform its historic mission vis-a-vis the cause of the Yemeni working class, adhere to our Yemeni Socialist Party's program and proceed from that and from the literature and resolutions of our union movement, the constitution and the laws in effect in its struggle on behalf of the total exercise of its rights and duties in strengthening its role in the agencies of state power.

Voluntary Union Membership

Voluntary union membership acquires special importance in that it expresses one of the important principles of the development of the union movement's activity and the consolidation of its role in political, economic and social life, not to mention the [workers'] right to choose and elect their representatives to the various union leadership boards and the boards of the people's representatives, which strengthens the unions' acquisition of total legitimacy in truly representing the workers and leadership, guiding their activity and defending their just interests and rights.

Eight years have elapsed since the issuance of the decree on voluntary union membership at the third general conference convened in the period 27-29 November 1978 and the fourth general conference convened in the period 15-17

September 1981, which again stressed the need for execution of this decree. On 20 April 1983, application of the principle of voluntary membership in unions was inaugurated in the midst of an atmosphere of celebration and expanded labor meetings which showed the highly enthusiastic receptivity of workers, government employees, salary-earners and intellectuals toward the submission of their applications for membership in the unions in the various work and production installations in all the governorates of the republic, emphasizing the extent of the development of the awareness of our working class in unifying their efforts and ranks in the context of their combative organization, the General Federation of Unions.

To this end, a number of plans and programs were set out and time stages were set out for the completion of voluntary union membership by the remaining numbers of workers. The various governorates witnessed extensive union activity and the general unions, labor councils and union committees participated positively in these activities, in spite of the difference in the volume of the level of this participation among labor councils and general unions. The result of this activity up to the convening of this conference of ours has been that the total number of workers who voluntarily enrolled in union membership came to 77,708, or a ratio of 73 percent of the total work force. The following table shows the volume of membership in each of the governorates of the republic:

| Labor Council | Size of the Workforce | Number of People Enrolled in Voluntary Membership | Percent |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|---|---------|
| Aden Governorate | 48,693 | 3,732 | 76 |
| Lahij Governorate | 12,887 | 9,305 | 72 |
| Abyan Governorate | 12,887 | 9,692 | 75 |
| Shabwah Governorate | 6,625 | 3,500 | 53 |
| Hadramawt Governorate | 23,234 | 6,164 | 70 |
| Al-Mahrah Governorate | 2,173 | 2,015 | 93 |
| Total | 106,499 | 77,708 | 73 |

In view of the importance voluntary union membership possesses, the previous union leadership ought to have placed this task at the top of its agenda, given maximum importance to completing the execution of the decree on voluntary union membership among the ranks of the workers and worked to reduce all difficulties the unions and labor councils faced in this direction. However, they, that is, the former leadership, did not devote adequate attention to constantly visiting work and production installations, directorates and centers to complete the voluntary membership among the ranks of the workers, not to speak of the lack of total organizational, statistical and technical preparation and the deficiency in the directives bearing on the performance of this task.

In addition, the activity of the unions and labor councils did not continue at the same rate and enthusiasm with which volunteer membership had been inaugurated, and that led to this result, which amounted to 73 percent of the total workforce.

We appeal to all general unions, labor councils, union committees and union boards that the activity must be continued, the high-ranking task of acquiring voluntary union membership in the ranks of workers and putting forth plans and programs for that in 1986.

Strengthening the Alliance between the Workers and Peasants

Female comrades, male comrades:

Firming up and deepening the class alliance between workers and peasants form part of the class importance of the connection between workers and peasants in the permanent development of life in the context of the current circumstances and transformations the Yemeni Socialist Party is leading, as they are considered a basic, important condition for advancing the national democratic revolution toward its triumphant end in preparation for the shift to the stage of subsequent socialist construction. The alliance of the main classes in the society, the workers and peasants, on the side of the other social classes and groups is considered a reflection of the nature of the composition of the numerous economic patterns of these classes and groups which exist in the country and is a social, economic, political class alliance of a specific stage, since the working class and the peasants are the two major classes within which the other social groups can be dissolved and their economic patterns can be gradually fused, through the strengthening of the role and status of the working class and the peasants in preserving public and cooperative ownership.

This matter requires a firm ideological stand by which class consciousness and scientific thinking will be developed, deepened and implanted among the circles of the working class and the peasants through the ideas of the theory of scientific socialism which will guarantee the realization of their hopes and aspirations toward the establishment of a society of social justice free of all types of oppression and class arbitrariness and exploitation.

This is considered one of the most serious and complex of stages, in the light of the numerous class struggles which are connected to the proliferation of major and secondary interests owing to the complex social structure. Therefore, the working class, which is the class that leads the alliance, under the leadership of its Yemeni Socialist Party armed with the theory of scientific socialism, must intensify its ideological, political and economic struggle and hasten the execution of its tasks portrayed in the program of the Yemeni Socialist Party, which is considered its first program, as well as executing the short- and long-term economic and social development plan, in firm cooperation with the peasants in cooperatives and poor peasants. This will prompt this alliance to raise the country's economic capabilities, comprehensively uplift the toilers' living conditions through an increase in national income and create an accumulation which will respond to the needs of development and provision of the population's social requirements.

In order for the working class to play its historic role in leading society, the issue of strengthening the class alliance with the peasants, who constitute a great social force and occupy a prominent position in the country's economic life, is considered one of the first basic tasks which lie before the Yemeni union movement to escalate the class struggle toward strengthening and implanting our progressive national regime, performing the tasks of the stage of national democratic revolution with its socialist perspectives and building the new Yemeni society.

The General Federation of Unions has taken the initiative of drafting the program for coordination between the two federations and the fourth general conference of the federation issued a special resolution strengthening the class alliance between workers and peasants. However, the program, and the resolution, did not come into actual existence but remained locked up in drawers, and the federation's former leadership did not exert any effort worth mentioning practically and seriously to carry out the program or the resolution in the past period. Therefore, the task of strengthening the class alliance between the workers and peasants in actual reality by setting out common plans and programs for the two federations' various leadership and base boards in accordance with the following approaches is the responsibility of the elected central council and its secretariat general:

With respect to organization:

1. Attaching organizational reports on the level of execution of the programs common to the two federations to the plans of the two central committees and their secretariats, and also as regards the other leadership boards vis-a-vis the two federations, to guarantee the proper execution of the programs.
2. Regularly holding meetings between the two secretariats of the federations in the presence of the secretary general of the Agricultural Workers' Union or whoever he appoints, to evaluate the level of execution of the joint programs and reduce all difficulties or obstacles which might stand in the way of their execution, and also between the secretariats of the labor councils in the governorates, the directorates and the base union committees of the Agricultural Workers' Union and the peasant committees parallel to those.
3. Making joint use of and exchanging organizational expertise and experience regarding the preparation and management of meetings, the setting out of plans, the organization of files, the setting down of minutes, the formulation of reports and the preparation of guidelines, organizational bills and so forth.

With respect to ideology:

1. Benefitting from the school of union personnel in accrediting peasant leaders.
2. Benefitting from the newspaper SAWT AL-'UMMAL in media coverage of the activities and operations of the union of peasants.

3. Printing the peasants' union's publications in the Sawt al-'Ummal organization at cost.

4. Benefitting from all artistic or athletic groups or cultural clubs of members of the two federations.

5. Supervising the development magazine's television programs by the two federations.

6. Participating in carrying out activities and functions devoted to celebrations of both federations.

7. Setting out joint programs for all the various leadership boards for hosting national and internationalist occasions.

With respect to economics:

1. Setting out joint recommendations regarding the economic and social development plans.

2. Jointly working to resolve the phenomenon of the flight of cooperative peasants and agricultural workers from productive agricultural and cooperative labor and recruitment in other projects.

3. Having the two federations adopt issues concerning agricultural workers and peasants in cooperatives, such as their low wages, the issue of collective labor contracts for agricultural workers, improvement in the pricing of agricultural products and so forth.

4. Performing joint volunteer initiatives in the agricultural cooperatives and state farms.

5. Benefitting from the rest houses and parks of the members of the two federations.

With respect to foreign matters:

1. Exchanging mutual benefit, expertise and experience between the two federations in the area of the organization and development of foreign relations with peasant federations and organizations in fraternal and friendly countries in the international context, proceeding from our country's progressive orientation, and specifying the nature, aspects and areas of this relationship and the benefit sought from it.

2. Exchanging mutual benefit, expertise and experience between the two federations in the area of setting out protocols with regional and international federations and organizations with the goal of improving the level of performance in the area of foreign relations.

3. Holding periodic meetings between the departments of the two federations in the presence of the foreign relations secretary of the Agricultural Workers' Union to evaluate the level of coordination between the two federations

in the foreign area and offering recommendations and views which will have the effect of strengthening the role of the two federations in the future.

4. Having the two federations take part in festivals of solidarity with the struggles of peoples for liberation and against colonialism in its old and new forms and for the sake of putting a stop to the nuclear arms race in the world.

We are wholly confident that in the coming stage, in realizing the goals specified above and developing and implanting them, the plan will help strengthen and tighten combative relations between the General Federation of Unions and the Democratic Yemen Peasants' Federation, and without a doubt will serve our struggles, which are aimed at realizing a quantum leap in the direction of strengthening the strategic class alliance between our Yemeni working class and our allies the destitute peasants.

The Tasks Set forth for Strengthening the Role and Effectiveness of Union Activity in Regard to Organization

Female comrades, male comrades:

In the foregoing part of this report of ours, we have reviewed all the positive and negative considerations which have accompanied our union activity with respect to organization. Since the degree of development or weakness of the organizational aspect of the activity of any party or mass organization reflects and affects to one degree or another the various aspects of its other activities, on grounds that it is its backbone and basic buttress, it is therefore of the utmost importance, in the coming stage, to develop the positive aspects our union activity witnessed in the past period in this regard and to work with total care and perseverance to eliminate all the negative features, deficiencies and gaps which have occurred in conjunction with it, since we will thereby be able to embody the depth of our confidence and faith in the role of our union movement in defending the Yemeni revolution, carrying out the 5-year plan and realizing Yemeni unity.

Buttressed by the experience of our union activity in the period of the past 5 years, in summarizing the totality of conclusions we have arrived at in this regard, we will state in brief the most important tasks which have been set forth to strengthen the role and effectiveness of our union activity with regard to organization in the coming stage as follows:

Setting out annual plans for all union groups, with reliance on the documents of these groups' conferences and the federation's fifth general conference and evaluating the level of their execution in the negative and positive sense with the goal of benefiting from positive aspects and transcending negative ones.

Devoting special care to the annual election meetings of the union base committees in terms of proper preparation and arrangement, providing documents and so forth and carrying out the directives of the central committee regarding the proportion of workers belonging to the secretariat of the base union committees.

Holding enlarged meetings with workers in order to discuss the various issues which are of concern to union activity with them and listening to their observations, views and recommendations to develop union base activity and strengthen its activity among the circles of the workers.

Working to increase the proportion of women in participation and enrollment in union base activity by stimulating the scope for women in the union base committee's secretariat and the union councils in the directorates and governorates.

Working to establish short internal organizational courses for the secretaries of the organizational departments of the various union groups in the areas of statistics and technical considerations related to voluntary membership and concerning means for making the election meetings of the union base committees a success.

Teaching the federation's bylaws and the central committee's directives in the union personnel school.

Bringing the bylaws of the federation and the directives of the central council to the various union groups, including the union base committees.

Expanding internal democracy in the various union groups in order to guarantee broad participation, collective views and unified movement in the direction of the execution of the tasks assigned to each group separately.

Working to develop organizational activity in the various union groups by establishing combative traditions for the unions based on the organizational foundations cited in the bylaws of the General Federation of Unions (democratic centralism, collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism).

Strengthening the various union groups' capability through the proper mastery of the documents of the federation's fifth general conference and the directives of the central council, in order to keep abreast of the union groups and the developments going on in our country.

Giving maximum importance to the principle of stocktaking and compensation, because of the extreme importance this principle represents in developing the capabilities and work of individuals and bodies in an effective, ongoing manner.

Devoting great attention to the issue of enumerating the members enrolled in voluntary union membership, along with their social and political makeup, as well as enumerating the workforce in the republic in general, with its social makeup, on the basis of sectors, and establishing statistics departments in the central council secretariat, the general unions and the labor councils in the governorates.

Establishing a personnel department in the secretariat of the central council of the General Federation of Unions which will assume the task of accrediting and distributing union personnel in accordance with the needs of the various union groups and in the light of the system of working with personnel.

Applying the bill of leadership positions to the various leadership groups and organizations subordinate to the General Federation of Unions.

Exerting every effort and power in the subsequent period to execute the decree of voluntary union membership.

Organizing the holding of meetings of various union groups in accordance with the federation's bylaws.

Strengthening and developing the general organizational structure of the General Federation of Unions in a manner which will guarantee an increase and expansion in workers' participation and an increase in its influence on the unions' activity and daily work, by seeking to establish vocational councils in the various governorates to link the union base committees in the governorates to the general unions and filling up the gap that is emerging between them.

Helping the union base committees with administrative organization in regard to their union activity.

Seeking to provide headquarters for the union base committees in work and production installations where such headquarters do not exist.

Working to set out annual plans for consultation meetings for all union groups.

Strengthening combative relations between the various union groups and the party organizations and government agencies parallel to them.

Firming up combative relations with the Peasants' Federation and the Yemeni Socialist Gateway Youth Federation.

Strengthening relations between the union base committees and the party base committees and the Gateway Youth base organizations in work and production facilities.

Working to exchange union expertise among the various union groups.

Chapter Two

The Ideological Struggle, Its Importance and Ways of Developing Its Forms and Methods in the Activity of the Federation, Labor Unions and Union Committees

Female comrades, male comrades:

Its interaction and effect:

In the previous chapter, we reviewed the activity of internal and organizational life, which is considered the objective basis for the development of life, which in turn is connected to constant development. Therefore the period of the past 5 years, that is, the period between the two conferences,

entailed unusual ideological and cultural activity in terms of its educational and instructional character and the attempt to tighten the bonds linking cultural development and social development. Great efforts and substantial attempts were made in the direction of providing a curriculum for the class educational movement within the circles of the working class and the other toilers in the country. These efforts and attempts were made especially by the union bodies (base and intermediate) but they did not receive their due in terms of interaction and influence, since they did not receive the attention of the higher leaders, who almost constantly obstructed ideological activity -- indeed, it is possible to say that if we make an evaluation review of the reports presented to the central council sessions by the former leaders and the decrees and recommendations derived from them we will as a consequence find that the course of ideological and media activity proceeded in a selective trend, which as a consequence resulted in influencing some union men and workers and creating cultural and ideological confusion or ideological paralysis in their midst concerning the position on the ideology of the working class, the theory of scientific socialism, our party's platform, documents and literature, union movement documents which in effect support and strengthen a positive position on labor, firm commitment to our party's principles and goals concerning its proper policy regarding the constant development of economic, social and defense life, then the material and moral improvement of workers, toilers and all citizens in the country and the rise in the income of the individual and the general level of living.

That can be realized only through a firm bond and constant effective interaction between the leaders and the bases, since the goal can lead to the realization of the purposes of our programs regarding mobilization of the workers and sharpening of their concerns regarding the development of the revolutionary process in the direction of carrying out the tasks of the stage of national democratic revolution so that it will be the instrument conveying this consciousness and these ideas, above and beyond special labor committees whose task is always propaganda and political agitation in the labor and mass milieu in labor and production installations as a manner of linking the workers to their class interests, in spite of the radicalization of the notions of the class struggle against the class enemies of our working class and its union movement and the sounding of the permanent bell of revolutionary awareness regarding the conspiracies and intrigues which are constantly being woven against the progressive regimes and revolutionary forces in our region -- specifically, in particular, the national progressive regime in People's Democratic Yemen -- as well as mobilizing the workers and masses with the notion of the watchword "Let us struggle for the sake of defending the Yemeni revolution, carrying out the 5-year plan and realizing Yemeni unity" and for the sake of solidarity among Yemenis on Yemeni territory, north and south, against their enemies who are constantly trying to inflame the fire of strife and dissension among Yemeni brothers with the goal of blatant intervention in Yemen's internal affairs and the consequent adoption of it as a zone of influence for world imperialism under the leadership of the United States of America and its agents in the region.

Our strong faith in further implanting scientific socialist ideas in the circles of the workers, peasants and other toilers in Yemen is the powerful

means for repelling all intrigues and deterring all ideas hostile to the ideas of the working class and the assets of the Yemeni masses' struggles and national sovereignty, because these ideas are founded on the bases of educating the masses in the love of work and accelerating the rates of production and unremitting work for the sake of developing the domestic economy, they educate the workers and masses with love and defense of the nation and love of the working class, the peasants and all Yemeni toilers, and indeed they educate them in the internationalist spirit and the love and aid of peoples fighting for the sake of their freedom and independence and for the sake of international peace and security. This spirit has reached a profound degree which causes us to be confident that our masses have become immunized against the continued infiltration of opportunistic diseases, right- or left-wing, into their ranks, and indeed have started fully to distinguish even among expressions of bourgeois thinking or petty bourgeois thinking. Therefore, we no longer fear any hostile or destructive activity, because the masses themselves, everywhere on Yemeni territory, have started to guard everything and possess the defensive power to maintain the revolution and the nation. It is stated in the Yemeni Socialist Party's program "It is the duty of the unions to conduct educational activity, raise the masses' level of awareness and educate them in the national and internationalist spirit, and they must become a school of education in which the toilers practically learn the methods of managing production and social affairs and be concerned to raise the level of political, vocational and technical accreditation of workers and government employees and to spread and apply vanguard production experiments."

The forms and instruments of the unions' techniques of intellectual education and mass cultural activities are numerous and accessible if attention, boldness and the power to face and accept criticism exist among union leaders, since it is possible that these forms may assume physical presence through periodic enlarged labor meetings which discuss the issues of work and the workers, negative and positive features, guidance of views and recommendations, criticism of the labor bases and discussion of their problems and concerns. It is also possible to notify the workers of the General Federation of Unions' activity and also the activity of the intermediate boards, which will strengthen the ties between the leaders and the bases day by day and cause them always to be strongly drawn to their rights and their freedom awarely and consciously. This is the incisive ideological weapon which the class enemies at home and abroad fear and dread. However, such action was not to be sensed in the previous period, and this made the distance between the leaders and the base a vast one. Even the leaders' union meetings were not effective and their boards did not go any farther than the labor meetings, to they point where they ended with the end of the meetings, and contented themselves with making announcements via the media.

The Forms and Effect of Education

Female comrades, male comrades:

Since the nature of the tasks of unions which possess a broad mass labor composition entails great responsibility in political action among the ranks of the masses, and this has of necessity required the establishment of

propaganda and agitation committees in the unions, labor councils and branch committees in the work and production installations, in order to assume the responsibility of propaganda activity in its various forms in the circles of the workers and toilers, which is a form of ideological action, opening broad scope for the deeper implanting of political action in the ranks of producers and in the area of services, this experiment was adopted before the fourth general conference. However, it scarcely got underway when it was eliminated, because it was not founded on attributes which would guarantee it continuity and development, since the various forms of ideological activity assumed a seasonal form and consequently remained stagnant, neither advancing nor regressing in terms of the numbers of courses related to ways and means of education or in terms of the development of performance. This is plainly evident through the contradictions in the reports which appeared between the sessions of the central council or the various general conferences since 1971. In 1984-85, there was an experiment of ideological activity which concentrated on three forms:

[23 Oct 86 pp 5, 6]

[Text] 1. Union education sessions.

2. Intellectual contests (based on the dictation method).

3. Lectures and seminars.

This experiment was not founded on a fixed educational procedure. Moreover, it did not take the level of the union workers' absorptive capacity into account, and above and beyond that it was not the only form in terms of educational ways and means, since it could have provided simpler and easier methods or could have expanded them by introducing patterns which were entertaining while being useful, for instance debates alongside lectures and seminars. As for the intellectual contests, although they followed the form of writing and summarization, they would have been more useful, or, one could say, there is no room for comparison, because this expressive method serves many purposes in terms of developing the ability to write, the abilities to interpret and analyze and methods of criticism. Therefore we find that they may have been successful to some extent, but they did not serve the scientific and practical goal which was sought from instruction, as a result of the following conclusions:

1. Their failure to be linked to economic development in a realistic manner whose effect is reflected on the living of the workers or at least in terms of their treatment in the installations.

2. Their failure to be concentrated on a cultural background which is in harmony with the capabilities and inclinations of the workers and union members.

3. They did not carry out a study of individual differences in the psychological makeup of the people who were among the ones choosing this activity.

4. Elements of diversification and enticement were neglected by the education program.

5. A gradual approach in the preparation of courses was lacking, for its part, and was not taken into consideration.
6. Agreement and prior arrangements with the lecturers, the level of the lectures, their specification as courses of ideological activity, and definition of the goals of each lecture.
7. The method of followup of the level of people in attendance taking these lectures.
8. The lecturers' timely commitment to the plans prepared for them and their courses.
9. The comprehensive evaluation of this activity. What is meant by evaluation here is not just the evaluation of the leaders' activity, for instance, but the evaluation of the people in attendance at the lectures and the people monitoring them and the evaluation of the lecturers, their voice, their ability to convey the lectures to the minds of the people in attendance and the level of preparation and absorption.
10. The failure to derive actual benefit from the union personnel school, so that it would be the source, indeed the basis, for setting out the curriculum of ideological activity and participating in its leadership and application, because this would to a great extent help form the curricula for the education programs as a means of accreditation and training.

Perhaps this policy concerning ideological activity, in the previous period, was aimed at the goal of isolating the people from learning about and knowing the political, economic and cultural events going on in the world; indeed perhaps it was part of a series of the plans in the conspiracy which eliminated people's spirits and precious assets and had the goal of drawing the workers into the labyrinths of demagoguery which the conspirators and traitors had devised in the work and production installations and in the circles of sectors of the people. In order to emerge from the effects of these obstacles and strengthen the actual role and programmed role of the unions, labor councils and all union boards in regard to ideological, educational and cultural affairs, and in order to take broad progressive steps in this area, it is necessary to put emphasis on making it a success, and success in itself is contingent on strengthening the effectiveness of the union committees and underlining their actual and tactical leadership position vis-a-vis the sum total of issues connected to work, production and workers' cares and concerns, then their effect in the circles of the workers, on the one hand, and on inciting them further to create and innovate, proceeding from the premise that they are the owners of the means of work and production. Above and beyond that, these issues of necessity have a spring which implants and develops them in the minds of the workers and the union members, and this spring is the libraries, which until this time have been lacking. We believe that all cultural and ideological activity which does not possess libraries is activity lacking in effect or benefit, because it is not possible to find ways to implant anything that is presented in the seminars, lectures and acculturation sessions through the reading of books, references, magazines, newspapers and so forth. The new leaders must devote their serious,

practical attention to the issue in order to be enabled to develop ideological activity to advanced levels which will be linked to the issues of economic, social and defense development and will pursue an organized, scientific curriculum, provided that this pursuit of curriculum be based on consultation with the union personnel school. The new leadership must devote special care and great attention in activity to increasing the stimulation of clubs and cultural centers belonging to the unions and the labor councils in a manner which will make them tantamount to the cultural and scientific beacon of union and political life, which will in effect deepen and radicalize labor culture for the sake of serving the future of the working class and the power of the workers and peasants in the country and crushing the class enemies' attempts to distort the notion of the class struggle, the theory of the working class and scientific socialism.

Female comrades, male comrades:

The rich thoughts whose validity, and the platform of whose correctness, the process of development has proved, on behalf of scientific socialism, by which our union movement has sought guidance and by which the Yemeni Socialist Party, the party of the working class and its allies, has sought guidance through its historic activities and works, must be represented more than before in rejuvenated innovative ways by the Federation of Unions in all its conference documents and resolutions and in practical application, in accordance with what the documents of the Yemeni Socialist Party clearly show with a total lucidity fundamentally based on profound analysis of the unions' experience, which is technical in content, with the ideas of scientific socialism, and their participation in political, economic and social construction concerning the unions and the possibility of using them, in the circumstances of the ongoing developments of our new Yemeni society in the current stage and the subsequent stage, since they are a school of scientific socialism and a school of politics, administration and economics. The Yemeni Socialist Party's program stresses this search for guidance in the following stipulation:

"In accordance with the requirements of the current and subsequent stage of the development of the revolution, the party considers that it is necessary truly to direct all means of ideological influence embodied in propaganda, agitation, the press, the radio, television, literature, art, cultural centers, libraries and clubs toward educating the toilers and workers in the class and revolutionary spirit, guaranteeing their effective, constructive participation in the current transformations and working persistently and patiently to spread the ideas of scientific socialism among the circles of the masses in order to enable them to absorb them and realize their historic validity and great role in changing the world and struggling for the sake of transforming conscious belief in these ideas into tangible revolutionary action for the sake of strengthening the progressive regime in our country.

"Therefore the ideological department in the secretariat of the central committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party is devoting particular attention to our activity, because of the importance of the position of the working class and its union movement in society, and is constantly monitoring our steps in the various fields of the media, accreditation, intellectual contests and

participation in lectures, enlarged activities and so forth. Our ideological and cultural activity proceeds under the guidance and direction of the ideological department in the secretariat of the central committee, as well as monitoring the extent of our interest in culture in general (the theater, fiction and vocal and literary arts), the visual arts and other things connected to the process of social and political development, in a manner which is aimed at radicalizing the notion of the class struggle within the society."

The Fields of Culture and Areas Where It Assumes Concrete Form

The union movement made positive beginnings in cultural activity and in the area of arts, literature and the spread of aesthetic culture among the circles of the masses in the previous period by expanding clubs and cultural centers, whether central, such as the 1 May Theater, or local, in the governorates. These could have spread different forms of awareness through various arts such as people's dance, songs, the theater, poetry soirees, fiction and visual arts and through such union-affiliated clubs as the club of educational vocations, transport and communications, oil, mining and chemicals, and so forth. Had these clubs assumed their historic responsibility they would have been able to deal with many of the cultural problems we are facing today through the groups of workers and government employees. Programs and schedules aimed at underlining the achievements of the revolution and the combative heritage of our people and our union movement would have had to be prepared for that, so that they could engage in activity and as a consequence aesthetic sense would spread among the masses and the principles of aesthetic education would spread, beginning with the sanitation of the capital and public sanitation and proceeding through the planting and protection of trees, then the avocation of cultivating orchards, to the construction of public parks to reflect the acquisition of aesthetic taste and integrated beauty in everything and in all areas of life. However, this orientation was not destined to continue and survive, and was not met with development or followup.

Therefore we must devote attention to the cultural activity which is concurrent with our daily activity in our country so that we will be able to revitalize this movement so that it may consequently work to strengthen it and develop it constantly, so that we may keep abreast of the peoples who have preceded us in this area and so that we may truly establish the role of art in developing societies and giving prominence to their history. We can in particular note that our streets do not seem pleasant and do not seem decorated with trees, and on top of that we find some young people spending their spare time loitering here and there, causing nuisance and irritation, and indeed trespassing against such public property as light poles and street lights, since some of these young people throw rocks at sources of lighting in the streets and public shops, because they find no useful alternative to organize their lives and change their thinking in a manner which will tie them to the development of economic and cultural life in the country and resort to the pursuit of strange conduct which our traditions or civilization do not accept.

Our union movement is striving with full diligence to study the history of our Yemeni people's struggle and also the legacy of the Yemeni, Arab and

international union movement, with the the goal of having the toiling masses and the working class constantly drawn to our historic struggle, then connected to the movement of the Arab and world revolution in the direction of strengthening proletarian internationalist solidarity and permanently implanting the notions of love and friendship among peoples and the struggle for world peace, against aggression and the occupation of territory of others by force and against the arms race and the militarization of space, since practical efforts are being exerted through the unions' participation in the Yemeni council for peace and solidarity and the committees which have branched out from it, such as the national peace committee for the year of peace, 1986, and our union movement has offered a modest contribution to the definition of activities bearing on the remaining period of this year. These contributions include all the unions and labor councils in some governorates and extend to their activity in conjunction with their emergence and development in the area of the struggle for peace and solidarity.

These issues and activities can assume concrete form not through speaking festivals alone, but also through the artistic and literary festivals whose talents are reawakened among the workers on behalf of innovation in the development of people's art and consequently development of our toiling masses' intellectual and cultural life through the stage, people's dance, songs of different kinds and the fine and visual arts which enable us to make our activity tangibly stand out in a manner actually serving the internal solidarity of our struggles on the humane road on behalf of man and his peace, security and stability, then Arab solidarity and internationalist solidarity through expression by means of various activities. Therefore, it is necessary to organize and establish cultural and intellectual activity within the union movement, after retabulation of the various artistic talents and literary talents, and to work to develop the groups that have been formed in various governorates and benefit from their experiences. The central committee exerted noteworthy efforts in this direction in the past period, since it set out the approaches through which the new central committee could continue its attention toward the development of artistic innovation of various kinds so that it might be a means for implanting culture on the one hand and a means of recreation for the workers on the other, then implant firm developed new humane traditions of civilization.

While preparation has been earnestly pursued to expand and intensify cultural activity in all its forms, ways and means, it cannot succeed or have its own existence in isolation from sports and physical education, which are considered among the basics of mental stimulation, in execution of the well known saying "Sound mind in sound body." We must therefore devote our full attention to this issue in the circles of workers of all age groups, because sports totally maintain physical fitness and as a result are an element which assists, and indeed is effective, in raising intellectual and productive ability among producers and workers alike. Moreover, athletic games, if also pursued in turn through clubs, will constitute a center of attraction for workers of both sexes and various age groups. If we take soccer, for example, we will find that it represents the country's bright face, and therefore we must give attention to this game, work to develop it, develop the players' capability physically and technically and work to create athletic installations which will actually help them constantly develop and grow

to be able to keep abreast of teams in other countries, especially in the neighboring countries, which have not taken precedence over our country in this area, because the history of sports in our country is older than those countries. However, we have received care and attention only lately. Therefore, we will give our special distinctive attention to sports in the unions, because sports in the previous period did not enjoy a stable regular pattern, since they were seasonal. Although there were schedules for the pursuit of sports in the ranks of the workers, they were not of the same platform as that connected to general cultural and ideological development. This obstructed their continuity and development on the one hand; on the other, the programs did not give adequate attention to school sports, alienating sports from their roots, foundations, curricula and the truth, which is a school, inhibiting their continuation and development.

Therefore, it is necessary to seek out athletic talents in the schools, then devote attention to school sports and encourage their instruction as an important course in the development of social and economic life, unless we are to suffer from physical deficiencies in all areas of life. We must establish the issue of sports of various types in our programs and adopt sports and seasonal festivals as a culmination of our daily activity so that we will actually be able to carry out an athletic resurgence of quantum leaps relative to our present situation. We must mobilize all the clubs and cultural centers present in the urban and rural areas by developing athletic activity in coordination with the Ministry of Education and the higher sports council, provided that this concern include all the governorates of the republic and remote rural areas, whenever that is possible, in application of all our party's guidance and directives in its program, in which, in this regard, it is stated:

"Since sports have an important status in the life of the society, and a tangible role in the education of young people, the party will give increasing attention to building sports grounds and centers for various athletic activities and this must proceed alongside the programming process for developing sports in our country, encouraging and supporting sporting clubs so that they will play increasing roles not just in the area of athletic ability but also on behalf of physical fitness for the mentality of generations and turning them into social cultural sports centers." Recently you have also been observing and hearing of the organization of uninterrupted sports activity, such as matches among unions, in coordination with the higher sports council. This merits appreciation and praise owing to the attention it has devoted to facilitating the unions' activities in this area, since the union movement organized two union series on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the union movement in basketball and table tennis and that has had a positive effect among workers and the public in general, and also the athletic movement in the country. It has also organized a soccer match among the unions in the process of preparing and readying for this conference of yours, and the final match was held between the teams of the educational professions and oil, mining and chemicals. This activity gives us clear proof that it will constantly keep abreast of the activity of the General Federation of Unions, in view of the effect it has in relaxing people's spirits and training bodies.

Development in the Area of Education, Accreditation and Training

Female comrades, male comrades:

The goals of development in the coming period, that is, the nineties, will be broader and more complex than in the past, because it will become difficult to distinguish between economic and social goals. The educational policy set out in our country must take this interaction into account because the coming years will be distinguished by expansion of the scope in development, the doubling of efforts and the support of activity in agriculture in the rural areas in general, and that will take place by enlightening public opinion and getting the broad masses to participate in an effective manner.

Since attention was restricted to quantitative standards, the formation of groups and the establishment of privileged administrative structures which created a gap between thinking about the development of educational plans answering the need of development and thinking about improving these special privileges, current circumstances call on us, without the least doubt, to mobilize everything in order to make the development plans succeed, because economic development has no meaning unless it is accompanied by the elimination of some personal or group privileges, as we are living today in an age of social, economic, scientific and technical evolution and it is no longer possible for our society to remain in its primitive character, since our people now require education which will enable them actually to keep up with development, participate in it and support it.

Increasing attention to education, especially its subsidiary problem of the fight against illiteracy, is to be considered one of the best ways of supporting the material base of the domestic economy and supporting our Yemeni people's struggles on behalf of their unity and the unity of their territory. Spreading education is to be considered a form of national liberation and a basic feature of the process of eliminating the vestiges of colonialism and the imamate alike in the entire arena of Yemen. Our progressive regime, when it introduces changes into the structure of education, will be able by this means to create the suitable circumstances for a dignified life which will enable our people, in spite of their poverty, to aspire to attain what the advanced countries have attained in the context of civilized progress. Here our union movement has played a basic role through its participation in various official bodies which are concerned with the issues of education, culture and science, especially the fight against illiteracy, since the unions have established special courses in work and production installations throughout the various unions and labor councils in the governorates. The students who have been liberated from illiteracy in these classes number 3,111, in addition to effective participation in organization, preparation and execution in the official classes the government supervises, since the number of people liberated from illiteracy in toto came to 8,524 in the period 1980-82. The results of the comprehensive national campaign in 1984 was 157,086 students out of a total of 187,453 illiterates, that is, a ratio of 83 percent. This role gives us a historic indication of our people's greatness in overcoming their problems in various areas with the goal of developing their political, economic, ideological and defense struggle for the sake of increasing union participation in the political

regime in transcending such serious problems, since our working class continued its struggle against illiteracy from the beginning to the comprehensive national campaign in 1984. Our union movement is now concerned, indeed calls for urgent serious action in the process of following through with organized classes on which people's education and the functional eradication of illiteracy may be founded, in order truly to link the society to the tasks of advancing development in the country and continuing education in all areas and fields of specialization. On top of the appeal for the realistic upgrading of education, the pressure which people approaching education, parents, students, registered pupils and people waiting to register exert must be reduced, since the society's demand for education is constantly increasing, as the number of male and female pupils now totals 54,093, and pupils registered at a given level always aspire to higher levels. If we look at the number of people who have graduated this year from the faculties of the University of Aden and abroad, we will find that they come to 1,645 in number, and they will join the workforce. The prevailing trend among parents today is to push their children to follow studies on higher levels, and education has become the main instrument for moving from one rank to another in the ladder of the society. The demand for education is a right, since people are not taught to earn a degree for the sake of the near future only -- they also do that in preparation for all of life.

This life is constantly developing, and it is believed that people, any people in this life, believe only that economic development will be accelerated, that efforts at employment will redouble and that the required qualifications will be higher than they were. As people's humanity is developing, they are not to be blamed for such a situation. Indeed, this is one of their rights, or at least the rights of their children, to aspire to a life of dignity. This requires acceleration on our part in precision in planning, in particular educational planning and workforce planning, and the distribution of personnel in a manner that is in keeping with these developments going on in the society, in a manner which is in keeping with the development plans; otherwise, we will continue to suffer from an increase in problems. Perhaps the fruit of our activity is only to realize what has taken place, and perhaps greater dangers lie in wait for us when we face hordes of students who cannot find their way to continue studies and cannot find open doors to jobs. At that time, the question arises, What is to be done?

[With] a searching look at the male and female pupils who passed in the unified level, who come to 13,218 in number, then the male and female pupils who passed in general secondary and the intermediate and vocational institutes, who come to 4,034 in number, we will find that the total number of the registration that is sought at all educational levels must be matched by the current or "expected" output of the existing educational institutions. When the existing educational "absorptive capacity" is adequate in light of the needs of the future, as is the case in many countries, the requisite improvement must be measured by the standards of the additional number of teachers, classes, boarding accommodations, school laboratories, workshop equipment and so forth, and also by the standards of the necessary financial investments and current spending on education, which is the essential point.

This is where the need for truthful, actual attention to educational planning as a long-range project comes in. The period of study at the university

level, for example, is normally from 5 to 6 years; in other words, the increase in the number of people registered in the first year yields its results only after 5 or 6 years. This requires that the requisite number of teachers, school classes, boarding facilities and so forth be provided and equipped. In addition to that, the people who have passed the general secondary have now greatly exceeded the absorptive capacity of registration in the university, and the number of graduates from the university has increased at a greater rate than the demands of development, which makes it mandatory that our educational system study this matter in a manner which will be in keeping with meeting the requirements of economic development, albeit with a relatively large time differential.

Therefore it is necessary to set out educational plans for a period of at least 10 years and on many occasions for a period of 15 to 20 years. Thus, we will be able to increase the cohesiveness and development of our educational system for the better in confronting the desperate attempts which occur from time to time in the schools to disseminate biased rumors and ideas hostile to the policy of our party and our progressive regime under the cover of religion or under any destructive mask. However, such attempts cannot deceive our students and teachers, because they fully realize and are aware of the guidance and instructions of our party, the Yemeni Socialist Party, which in its tentative program stresses "The party and the government will put a decisive limit to any attempts which forcibly wear the masks of religious beliefs and enlist themselves in the name of religion for suspicious religious purposes contrary to the goals of the revolution and the new regime, out of subordination to attempts which are aimed at obstructing and liquidating the toilers' achievements and gains. The party devotes great attention to the development of public education and also kindergartens and mother and child care and expansion of the scope of preparation of specialized domestic personnel in the necessary areas for developing the economy, science, technology and culture."

The Role of the Union Personnel School

Female comrades, male comrades:

In view of the interconnection among the forms and methods of education, the union personnel school is to be considered a prominent signpost in this vital, important environment, since substantial efforts have been made in the process of education, especially in the process of accrediting and training union personnel, in a manner strengthening the role of the various union bodies in developing the methods of ideological, propaganda and educational activity among workers, since the union personnel school has benefitted to a great extent from the broad support offered by the central council of Soviet unions in the context of the protocols of friendship and cooperation between our friendly union organizations. This is embodied in the "Soviet teaching mission." The relationship between the union personnel school in our country and the higher school of Soviet unions has constituted a vivid example of relations with the union schools in the socialist system since its establishment in 1975, and was strengthened in a better form in 1977, when the first stable teaching delegation was sent, and with the expansion of the number of members in the delegation in 1979. The school has also been

provided with quantities of study references, alongside other equipment and supplies such as air conditioners and coolers. Our school also has acquired a number of educational experts from union federations in the friendly socialist system and Arab communist parties. In this regard, joint cooperation is being strengthened day after day between the union personnel school and the 'Abdallah Badhib institute of scientific socialism, the youth personnel school and some local specialists from the University of Aden, and this has helped the school carry out its educational and ideological plans and programs "theoretically and in applied terms, as reflected by the results of the years of the past period."

The school participates in a number of political and ideological activities organized by the General Federation of Unions, the 'Abdallah Badhib institute of scientific socialism and the Yemeni-Soviet friendship society. Further acquisition of scientific knowledge and expertise outside the educational plans has been given to the teachers in addition and the spirit of internationalist solidarity and new revolutionary values have been deepened within them, which has prompted the school to follow diverse methods and forms in the context of its educational, accreditation and ideological mission to a perceptible degree, and this has had positive results which manifested themselves in the crystallization of the notion of scientific socialism in the circles of union leaders, workers and toilers in the country. In the light of these successes, one can follow up on them and contemplate them in depth through the statistics on the courses and seminars held between the academic years 1981-82 and 1985-86 in Tables One, Two and Three. Here we will point out that as a result of the growing attention which our union movement gives to ideological and accreditation activity domestically the absorptive capacity of the institute of studies exceeds the requirements of the self-sufficiency plan. In the past period, five lengthy union courses were held with a period of a year and [in] one the number of personnel enrolled in accordance with the plan came to 421 and the number of union personnel graduates since the academic year 1981-82 came to 364. In spite of these numbers which graduated from the school, we are deficient in working for the sake of full, ongoing benefit from graduates domestically and abroad, because their role has not assumed a natural status in general activity, and this requires that they be linked to the goal of accreditation for the sake of the maximum use of the mobilization of their powers on behalf of the union movement and the constant increase in the role of the working class in its class struggle against its enemies. Therefore, it is mandatory that all union leaders monitor all the graduates in all the union boards and demand that they work inside the union movement so that training and accreditation will be of benefit in the internal life of union activity. On the other hand, the school organized regional seminars in October 1981 and October 1982 in Aden, in October 1984 in Abyan and in November 1985 in Aden, where the number of personnel taking part in these seminars came to 268, and a local seminar in Aden in November 1982 on labor legislation in which 250 personnel participated. These seminars had positive effects on the exchange of expertise and information which will result in helping to strengthen the role of the union movement in the turmoil of the comprehensive struggle toward improving the circumstances of work and raising the standard of living of the workers in various participating countries, and they strengthened the role of our country and our union movement in the field of developing labor

culture and consequently strengthening the role of the union personnel school in developing their role in the field of training, accreditation and assumption of an advanced role in their contribution to the performance of general ideological activity in the union movement and escalation of its struggle in the domestic and foreign contexts. In the area of short courses, the school organized 15 short courses in the Governorates of Aden, Hadramawt, Abyan and Shabwah and the number of union personnel enrolled in them in the period from the academic year 1981-82 to today has come to 774. These courses were devoted to the areas of ideology, economics, the law, the population issue, organizational activity, social insurance and industrial security and a course was allocated to leadership personnel. In this direction, the central committee must work in the future to develop the union personnel school by introducing scientific union research in a manner which will enable teachers and union academicians to perform union and labor research which will have the effect of dealing with a number of issues of concern to the union movement and the country in general, such as the issue of emigration from the country and migration from the rural areas to the city, the issue of the rise or decline of the working class in our country, and numerous issues related to the economic situation and improvement of the rates of activity in the development of life. The school's role in accreditation and training is not just restricted to union accreditation, but must go beyond that to vocational accreditation and the opening of organized classes for the military training of workers, in execution of what the program of the Yemeni Socialist Party dictates: "The process of programmed and curricular accreditation and training and the rise in the educational and cultural level will be the prevailing orientation in the future for the accreditation of the working class." We can benefit from the exchange of expertise with the union personnel school's branches in the governorates, in particular the union personnel school in the Governorate of Hadramawt, which is constantly and perceptibly developing, especially as regards attention to monitoring the study of people liberated from illiteracy and raising their level in military classes which are aimed at enrollment in the general secondary and consequently the aspirations of the students themselves. Therefore, all governorates must follow this example, so that they will be able to link field union activity to the academic curriculum in the personnel schools in various places.

Accreditation and educational activity is not confined just to accreditation domestically, but rather goes beyond that, in accordance with the constant development of foreign relations, to foreign accreditation, since short courses were organized in the period 1982-86 in the Soviet Union, People's Bulgaria, Democratic Germany, Czechoslovakia and Cuba, and the number of people sent on fellowship to these courses from various union boards came to 235. The long courses, which range from 1 to 3 years, were for their part in the Soviet Union, People's Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Democratic Germany, and the number of people sent on fellowship came to 67. We also receive vocational courses. While our plan in the previous period was four courses in the areas of agriculture, trade, banks, engineering and food industries in the socialist countries and the number of people sent on fellowship came to 25, university grants have totalled 26 fellowships.

The abovementioned figures regarding foreign accreditation underline the depth of the bilateral relations and the depth of cultural, educational and

ideological cooperation between our federation and the world federation of unions and between our federation and the union federations in the socialist countries and the Arab countries and in the area of the accreditation, forming and reaccreditation of personnel and they also underline the indices of tangible growth which all aspects of cooperation witness in the various areas of life, giving prominence to the status of our union movement on the international stage. We also should not forget the prominent role our union movement plays in participating in accrediting labor union personnel belonging to regional union federations.

The development taking place with respect to the accreditation of union personnel in the domestic and foreign contexts also tangibly stresses the growing attention our union movement is devoting in this area, out of belief on its part that no developmental, political or economic development can occur except through accreditation and constant reaccreditation.

Union Media

Female comrades, male comrades:

The mass media movement in the previous period was not commensurate with its role in confronting the media hostile to the course of development in our country under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party. Rather, it was drawn up in a manner which was compatible with these changing goals of the movement of the toiling Yemeni masses, since it was mobilized to glorify the individual and highlight personalities, although that was not linked to any kind of activity, since the traitor 'Ali Nasir Muhammad dominated the media in the period before black 13 January, directed it just for the sake of deception or promotion of the unique leader, and brought the curtain down on a total blackout of the activity of the masses, the working class and its union movement as part of his devious criminal schemes to finish expropriating public freedoms, in particular union freedoms. However, the will of our masses, and their faith in the principles of their party, were stronger than the schemes of the clique of perfidy and treachery and their imperialist masters, and the toiling masses, through the force of this will, through the iron quality of faith in principles, managed to create the miracle of victory and are now continuing to forge all the successive new ongoing victories.

The mass media did not perform their role vis-a-vis the union movement, in its capacity as the mass movement influencing society and its development in all political, economic, ideological and defense areas, since they faced many difficulties in the optimum application of news policy, for instance. With respect to their programming and the reflection of their activities throughout the print media, for example, they did not emerge into actual existence, except as what were in effect specks of sand in the eye, especially the press. Above and beyond that, the union movement did not encounter the legitimate facilities it deserved in these agencies except with great difficulty, although all these rights are clearly stated in the documents of the party and the government and must be seized when necessary. In the party's program it was stated "The press, radio and television must contribute their great share to the practical analysis of objective reality in a manner which will help spread about and disseminate the vanguard

experiences in the area of work and production, disclosing deficiencies and gaps and deepening the toilers' interests in making a success of the country's economic and social development plans."

Therefore, we must give form to these clear creative applicable programs and plans because from the theoretical standpoint they truly reflect the good quality of our people, their high morality and their glory, and indeed reflect their civilized history. Let us raise the party's programs on high, in praise and glory, as a basis for our daily activity in dealing with the toiling masses and dealing with their complete, undiminished needs, and work perseverantly for the sake of developing the country in all areas and totally pulling the rug out from under the enemies of our revolution, represented by the opportunistic right, headed by the clique of perfidy and treason, the conspiratorial clique of 13 January under the chairmanship of the treasonous apostate 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and his forebears who preceded him in rushing into the embrace of imperialism, reaction, colonialism, espionage for foreign powers and mercenary activity. Thus, the rigidity of the masses under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party, the safety valve of the revolution and national sovereignty and its collective leadership, will increase.

We believe that the media must be the truthful defender of the gains of the revolution and the working class and its union movement, since it is the major force in the society. Indeed, it is the decisive element in the existence of the society, because it forges and produces the material bounties by which we live and flourish, and thus it is necessary that all the media be mobilized to portray this vital, effective activity in life in coordination with the General Federation of Unions through the following approaches:

1. Shedding light on the activity of the union boards, with emphasis on the portrayal of social, economic and human activities without discrimination among persons, no matter what their position might be, to the extent that they make contributions and influence life, not to the extent of what they show and boast of for the sake of vainglory and arrogance.
2. The credibility of work and work indices, so that the media treatment will be connected to the true nature of this activity or these indices, in the sense that we must be truthful with the masses and not exaggerate with brilliant promises while lacking the ability to fulfill them.
3. Giving the unions their priority in rights in accordance with the ranking in the development law and the platform of our party, the party of the working class, the Yemeni Socialist Party and its documents, and in its introduction, the program.
4. Providing broad scope for the unions to perform their effective role in the political system and showing the balance in their leadership boards in comparison with what the leaders in the party and administration agencies receive, as well as carrying out this balance on the basis of free discussion in fields of life in accordance with the experiences of progressive peoples in this regard.
5. All media personnel are members of unions. Therefore, they are an important, sensitive part of the body of the union movement. This makes it

mandatory that they be in the forefront among the people carrying out the media and work programs of the working class and its union movement, whatever the difficulties and hardships might be.

6. The unions today receive distinctive care in the preparation and arrangement of their programs, in the radio, television and print media, and fully supervise preparation, production and execution through the union committees in the various media.

One can say that all these tendencies are constantly reflected through the media connected to the activities of the base. Foremost among these media is the newspaper SAWT AL-'UMMAL, the organ of the central committee of the federation of unions, as well as the wall posters of the union committees in work and production installations, internal broadcasting and the other activities listed in the program of the General Federation of Unions and the labor councils in the governorates, such as intellectual contests, speeches, debates, seminars and similar forms of intellectual and cultural activity in the circles of workers and toilers. Among the closest of the media are those which portray the voluntary economic activity of the workers, such as production and service contests and matches and contests in the economic industrial fields, including the agricultural fields, and their reflection as well in the displays of photographic exhibits and union and production activity and the displays of honor which contain pictures of prominent workers and employees in these areas. In this manner, we will deepen the firm bond between the leadership and the base, and indeed trust between the party and the masses and their method of protecting gains, challenging conspiracies and intrigues and warding off all the dangers threatening our nation and stability. We have tangible experience, if we are to be fair and speak truthfully; this experience is represented by the labor council in the Governorate of Hadramawt as well, since its union, production and political activity, for example, is linked to media activity through organized wall posters, internal broadcasts and periodic publications, not to speak of its attention to planning statistics and attention and attention to union personnel and government and vocational personnel in general. It is possible to organize an exchange of expertise among the labor councils with the goal of the optimum development of our ideological and educational activity and the advancement of our working class.

The union media are the mirror which reflect our activity. Therefore the medium we possess is the newspaper SAWT AL-'UMMAL, the organ of the working class, whose role must become greater in speaking about cultural life and the workers' concerns and causes and embodying their role in the development of the domestic economy through the constant acceleration of rates of production so that it may proceed in two parallel courses, along with the workers' standard of living. When we speak about the development of the newspaper SAWT AL-'UMMAL, the talk about development is not restricted to its number of pages or the employment team alone; rather, this development must affect the scholarly and living level of its personnel and the style of criticism which must prevail in our current conditions, not to speak of the contributions of the unions, labor councils, all union boards and literate workers in writing in the paper so that all this will constitute a truthful, correct record of volunteer union activity. Without that, we will not be

able successfully to continue our activity reflecting the will of the unions and workers on pages allocated to the workers as readers who write in it and constantly correspond for it. The unions must urge workers constantly to write in their paper's pages. Therefore, it will manage to develop itself, in terms both of its number of pages and the production or quality of the articles it contains.

In addition to that, there is media activity in the work and production facilities which is embodied in the wall posters issued variously, monthly, semi-monthly and weekly in some cases, not to speak of the internal broadcasts in whose operation the union committees in the installations take part. Therefore, the union media play their direct role with the workers by these means. The exhibits have reflected this activity in a tangible form which has embodied the growing role and strong will of the union committees in the work and production facilities. The wall posters and publications issued in the previous period in the various governorates, according to the reports cited, were 19,819 in number. Here the possibility of a firm inter-linkage between the base and the leadership and the broad solidarity of the workers about their union movement, and consequently about the correct policy of our inspiring party (the Yemeni Socialist Party), is proved. As regards the television and radio media, our union movement is devoting its special attention to this issue and it has worked to allocate a weekly television and radio program constantly portraying the workers' productive and union activity. Although certain obstacles in the way of making a success of the television program were artificially created, the radio program has constantly found that its path is easy, and is constantly being transmitted, and the movement is working now to develop these two programs in a manner which will tie the workers' daily activity and their production of material bounties to the society, which is first and last the beneficiary of this material activity that is considered the major factor in the existence of society.

| Union Accreditation Courses for the Academic Year | 1982-86 | Plan Executed |
|--|---------|---------------|
| Union accreditation course for the academic year | 1981-82 | 73,081 |
| Union accreditation course for the academic year | 1982-83 | 84,104 |
| Union accreditation course for the academic year | 1983-84 | 65,075 |
| Union accreditation course for the academic year | 1984-85 | 83,091 |
| Union accreditation course for the academic year | 1985-86 | 364,421 |
| Union accreditation course for a 2-year period | 1982 | 20,080 |

Short refresher courses:

| | | |
|--|----------------------------|-----------|
| Short union course in the area of propaganda and agitation, 3 February-March | 1981 | 8 |
| Two short courses on al-Mukalla-Sa'yun population issues | February 1982 | 64 |
| Short union course on union director production contests | October 1982 | 85 |
| Short union refresher course, al-Mukalla | October 19 | 55 |
| Short union course on union media organization activity | December 1984 | 55 |
| Short union course, Shabwah | 1984 | 44 |
| Union course on social insurance and industrial security | April 1985 | 43 |
| Short leadership personnel course | May 1985 | 44 |
| Short course on union activity organization affairs | May 1985 | 117 |
| Two short courses on labor legislation, al-Mukalla-Sa'yun | December 1985 | 96 |
| Short course on economic considerations | November 1985 | 107 |
| Union course regarding organization affairs | December 1985-January 1986 | 25 |
| Union course on labor economics lasting 3 days | January 1986 | 31 |
| [Total] | | 774 |
| Local and regional union seminars | 1982-86 | Completed |
| A local union seminar on labor legislation | November 1982 | 250 |
| A regional labor seminar | October 1981 | 85 |
| A regional labor seminar | October 1982 | 46 |
| A regional labor seminar (Abyan) | October 1984 | 50 |
| A regional labor seminar | November 1985 | 87 |
| [Total] | | 518 |

Foreign accreditation courses

Short courses, 1982-86 Number of Fellows

Country

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| Soviet Union | 110 |
| People's Bulgaria | 75 |
| Democratic Germany | 20 |
| Czechoslovakia | 20 |
| Cuba | 10 |
| [Total] | 235 |

Long courses, 1982-86

| | |
|--------------------|----|
| Soviet Union | 25 |
| Bulgaria | 28 |
| Czechoslovakia | 1 |
| Democratic Germany | 13 |
| [Total] | 67 |

| Vocational courses | Year | Country | Fellows |
|----------------------------|------|----------------|---------|
| Engineering field | 1984 | Hungary | 1 |
| Food processing field | 1984 | Germany | 8 |
| Agricultural field | 1985 | Czechoslovakia | 6 |
| Commerce and banking field | 1985 | Czechoslovakia | 10 |
| [Total] | | | 25 |

University study grants for 1982-1986

| Name of Country | Year | Number of Grants |
|-------------------|------|------------------|
| 1. Soviet Union | 1982 | 10 |
| 2. Hungary | 1982 | 2 |
| 3. Soviet Union | 1983 | 9 |
| 4. Czechoslovakia | 1983 | 1 |
| 5. Soviet Union | 1984 | 7 |
| 6. Bulgaria | 1985 | 2 |
| 7. Soviet Union | 1985 | 12 |
| 8. Soviet Union | 1985 | 3 |
| [Total] | | 46 |

Chapter Three

Role of the Unions in Social and Economic Development and Trends in Their Activity in Execution of the Third 5-Year Plan, 1986-1990

Female comrade, male comrade delegates to the conference:

Since they are a school of economics and development, the unions' activity is increasing through the interconnection of its various features. We find that ideological activity is organically connected to the economic activity the union movement undertakes as a prominent role in our country actually embodied in tangible action for the sake of realizing the objectives and goals of economic and social development; it proceeds basically from the growing importance the party of the Yemeni working class, the Yemeni Socialist Party, and its allies the toilers, give to the economic question, as the cornerstone of the development of society and its transformation in future stages. In their activity in the area of economics, the unions proceed from the programmed goals which the party defined in its program, whose text follows: "Guaranteeing attainment of the interests and vital needs of the country's working class, peasants and fishermen and building a modern productive economy that is in keeping with the objective resources available in Democratic Yemen. The Yemeni Socialist Party, in its economic policy, proceeds from the need to strengthen the material and tactical base of the domestic economy and guarantee fixed programmed progress in this field."

These goals are given material form in the economic and social development plans. Just as they have realized gains of the utmost importance in the execution of the 3-year and the first 5-year plan, the second 5-year development plan, for its part, has realized basic successes, in spite of some deficiencies and general disruptions which afflicted the country through the

wrongful practices of the current of right-wing opportunism under the leadership of the conspirator 'Ali Nasir. This requires that every effort be devoted to eliminating them and working to create the atmosphere for the execution of the third 5-year economic and social development plan for the years 1986-90 in the direction of the specified goals, and requires that the Yemeni working class and its union movement follow various innovative ways and means to realize high indices of execution, since that is most firmly connected to the growth and development of the working class in our country, vertically and horizontally, its construction in accordance with the theory of scientific socialism and the education of this class in its teachings. We are guided by the program of our party, "The growth of the working class will continue as industry, communications, construction and state farms subsequently develop, and this will have a positive effect on all the principles of social life." This matter requires the creative execution of all decrees in the economic sphere in the environment of actual conditions, since economic policy is the firm, proper link between theory and the application of decrees and execution.

The fourth general conference approved the basic trends of union activity in the context of the execution of the second 5-year plan for the years 1981-85 and took a number of decrees and recommendations in the economic area with the goal of strengthening the leadership role of the union movement in economic and social life. These decrees and recommendations were focussed on preserving and maintaining public ownership, increasing productivity, increasing its quality, redoubling the contributions of the union committees, the working class and all workers in discussing the plans, monitoring execution and evaluating performance, seeking to strengthen the role of the economic structures, executing production contests, benefiting from specialized personnel in developing techniques for managing the domestic economy, determining a proper wage policy, executing the principle of linking wages to production, preparing systems of material and moral incentives and improving union groups' contribution to innovating better methods to respond to the citizens' needs for foodstuffs and consumer goods. In addition to these decrees, the trends showed the quality and execution of these decrees by developing practical activity and the initiatives of the working class and its allies through the execution of collective work contracts and other economic tasks in the life of the union movement.

We will show the overall level of execution of these decrees, recommendations and trends in the period between the two conferences in the course of reviewing this consideration. One might point out that efforts were made by the workers, intermediate union committees and all the country's laborers for the sake of properly applying it, but the negative practices pursued by the traitor and apostate 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and his current were a barrier in the way of growth and development and the execution of the decrees, a greedy exploitation of the sweat and blood of the workers and a parasitical disbursement of the people's money. These obstacles and practices of the former union leadership and its failure to perform all its duties in the area of execution in the desired form -- a condition which we must all grasp and work creatively to overcome by increasing executive abilities in order to turn the decrees and trends which this conference will produce into execution -- emphasize the elimination of all obstacles and call for help from

the union committees and workers on behalf of the attainment of better results in executing and explaining these decrees and trends through meetings with the workers and union committees, and, at the same time, translating the decrees and trends our conference will produce into the annual plans and overseeing and following up execution. In this manner, union activity will become more effective among the circles of the workers and will further strengthen the leadership role of the union movement in the country's economic life.

The decrees the higher party boards, the government boards and the central government adopted with regard to the reports the unions presented were focussed on positive initiatives regarding treatment of the difficulties facing them, reorganization of the higher committee and the intermediate committees and assignment of the Council of Ministers to offer help to the unions and issue directives regarding this to the agencies of the government, in addition to decrees concerning the position regarding labor, supplies, the annual execution of the development plans and the unions' participation in them. To the same end, the level of execution of these decrees and directives will be addressed in the context of economic considerations in a better manner than that which exists at present, the reason for which may be attributed to the same point that was mentioned previously concerning the individual behavior of the opportunistic right wing, laxity on the part of the leaders of facilities and other negative cases at the expense of the domestic economy.

These decrees have so far been characterized by their force, by opportunities for their actual execution in the context of a proper healthy atmosphere and by treatment of the principle of criticism and self-criticism in a manner which suggests the condemnation and transcending of negative practices, which we are presenting you with, male comrades, female comrades, so that you will be informed of the fact of the matter on it. That does not at all mean that bright features do not exist in the execution of these decrees on the part of the activity of the working class and its union movement within specific limits, specifically in some sectors and governorates.

Female comrades, male comrades:

The second 5-year economic and social development plan for the years 1981-85 realized important achievements and gains which in their effect embraced all economic and social fields. From a statement of the actual execution of 4 years of the plan and the estimated execution of the 5th year of the plan, 1985, we find that the value of social production in the final year of the plan came to about 434.1 million dinars (in fixed prices), that is, a level of 224.8 million dinars and a rate of increase of 35.1 percent in comparison with the base percentage, a real increase of 18.9 percent was realized in the level of per capital income in the same period and work productivity increased by 20.6 percent.

A tangible improvement in the value of social production occurred in the contributions of the property sector, since the government's share rose, reaching 48.6 percent as compared with 43.1 percent in the base year. The cooperative sector's share came to 7.3 percent in comparison with 5.8

percent, while the private sector's contribution declined from 47.2 to 40.9 percent by the end of the second 5-year plan. Some decline occurred in the mixed sector's share, from 3.6 to 3 percent. The volume of actual investment spending in the plan years came to about 715.2 million dinars, that is, the equivalent of 206 percent of what had been spent in the period 1971-80, and the productive sectors had an effective role in increasing social production. Their contribution to production came to 56.8 percent, as compared with 55.5 percent in the base year, and large contributions came from the productive sectors, from the sector of industry, whose annual rate of growth came to 6.9 percent and whose contribution in 1985 was about 21.9 percent, and also the construction sector, whose annual growth rate came to 13 percent, thanks to the increase in the investment spending plan, whose contribution came to 22.3 percent in 1985. In the area of labor, the number of people employed in the domestic economy came to 500,000, that is, a rate of increase of 13.9 percent according to the accompanying table, which shows the volume of human resources for the years 1980-85.

Volume of Human Resources, 1980-85

| | 1980 | 1985 |
|--|---------|---------|
| Total human resources | 856,000 | 965,000 |
| Employed in the domestic economy | 438,900 | 500,000 |
| Employed in industry | 45,100 | 55,000 |
| Employed in agriculture | 195,200 | 203,000 |
| Employed in fish resources | 8,800 | 10,000 |
| Employed in construction | 30,400 | 46,000 |
| Employed in transport and communications | 27,100 | 33,000 |
| Employed in trade and supplies | 39,000 | 48,000 |
| In the productive area | 344,600 | 395,000 |
| In the area of services | 93,300 | 105,000 |
| Students of working age | 33,000 | 48,000 |
| Employed in household activities | 372,400 | 417,000 |
| Unemployed | 11,700 | [n.a.] |

[24 Oct 86 pp 5, 6]

[Text] In the trade sector, the volume of trade came to about 235.1 million dinars in 1985, and the volume of commodity transactions, which came to 275.9 million dinars, that is, a rise of 38.3 percent, increased. Thus the

per capita share of commodity transactions came to 127.5 dinars, or a rate of increase of 21.5 percent. Local production's share of the volume of commodity transactions rose from 27.5 to 44 percent. In the financial sector, in the general government budget it was estimated that actual expected revenues totalling 1,025,000,000 dinars would be realized in the years of the second 5-year plan, the local sources of which included the sum of 644 million dinars, or a ratio of 62.8 percent. In the area of government public spending, actual anticipated estimates of spending from the government general budget during the years of the plan came to 1,404,000,000 dinars, of which current spending came to a total of 794 million dinars, or a ratio of 56.6 percent of the total, and investment spending to 610 million dinars, or a ratio of 43.4 percent of total investment spending. It is worth pointing out that total development spending from all resources, including bank loans and intrinsic resources, came in the years of the plan to a total of 715.2 million dinars. From this, we can sense the extent of the interest the Yemeni Socialist Party is showing to realize the goals of the development plans, since the plan has aimed at the realization of total investment spending amounting to 508.2 million dinars.

The balance of payments witnessed an actual surplus up to the end of 1983, in spite of the increase in the deficit in the trade balance in the years 1981-83 compared with 1980. However, the balance of payments witnessed a deficit at the end of 1984, and this deficit continued until 1985. Moreover, in spite of the achievements and gains realized in the second 5-year plan, it is worth pointing out that it would have been possible to realize higher levels had some deficiencies, gaps and individual actions which occurred in conjunction with some activities been challenged to a greater extent. A large number of facilities did not carry out all the tasks assigned to them in the context of the plan period or in the context of the annual plans, and a delay occurred in the execution of a number of projects whose construction period, and consequently the period of freeze on whose capital spending, was extended, with a delay in income from these projects to the time of operation and a delay in supporting the domestic economy by providing a yield in the time scheduled for them. Although many existing and available forces were not used in the optimum manner, and indeed some of them were not used in the desired manner, there were in addition to that gaps in the method of engaging in the marketing of some products, which led to an increase in losses or an increase in the accumulation of products in warehouses, and the occurrence of such deficiencies and gaps led to the appearance of their negative effects in the context of the domestic economy, especially in the context of the meager resources of the government. This means that the ministries which did not carry out the indices stipulated for them in the plan were not held to account, and in addition some projects of no economic yield were constructed, such as the Aden Hotel, Martyrs' Square and parks, at the expense of projects with priority in the lives of citizens, such as the provision of drinking water, and there was a lack of attention to the development of industrial organizations which depend on local raw materials, such as the gypsum and chalk plant, specifically, and low quality in local products and their failure to compete with imported goods. Transportation projects are considered among those in which construction was delayed, and this postponed their entry into operation.

Therefore, the operating level of the productive capacities of industrial installations, for example, has ranged from just 18 to 60 percent, and there

was a failure to construct projects based on local raw materials which are available in the country, such as tomatoes, oil, construction materials and so forth, and their substitution by foreign imports, even the tomato plant in al-Fuyush, since a portion of its raw materials were exported. In addition, there was a failure to hasten the construction and development of some basic, important projects, such as the port of Aden, and the result of this delay was that neighboring ports outpaced us in development and this eliminated the need for the port of Aden in the international context. Remedying this defect "requires acceleration in the construction of this project," in addition to the maximum importance of carrying out such basic requisite projects as the cement plant and the importance of using modern equipment in the maintenance shops and concentrating on that by economizing in the use of fuel. There are many other observations which will be addressed during the review of features of this report.

It is of the utmost importance to transcend these observations when carrying out the third 5-year plan projects, since that means the importance of the obligatory execution of the plans, since they are the second program in the country, and the importance of planning for the three stages of production, distribution and consumption, with the need that there be a base for planning, strengthening and developing the statistics agencies, comprehensively developing the interrelated branches of production, developing the regions, overseeing the work productivity of the organizations in accordance with their design capacities, setting out scientific studies on the standards of criteria of rates of work and production and the value of their costs, having the working class in the various work and production facilities participate in the discussion of the plan in broader fashion, having them participate in discussing the performance reports, adopting their observations and development views and overseeing this issue in a strict manner.

Female comrades, male comrades:

The most important thing which can be adopted in the future is the maximum exploitation of the raw materials that exist in the country, the reduction of foreign loans, reliance on internal resources, the adoption of firm measures in this direction, maximum use of farmland in all agricultural activities, including livestock raising, and attention to and expansion in various products for export such as tobacco, milk, cotton, fish, marine organisms and so forth. Consistency is necessary in increasing production, for example increasing the production of eggs, which must not be matched by a decline in the production of milk, increasing meat, which must not be matched by a decline in the production of fruit, and so forth. The flagrant error which occurred was the importation of foreign labor, accompanied by the burdens on the government and society entailed by this labor, part of which is unskilled, and remittances of foreign currency abroad at a time when the country is in urgent need of it, while there is no abundance of local labor, which needs encouragement, support, development, accreditation, reaccreditation and training. It is necessary to work to guarantee an increase in manpower, get people gradually to participate in the domestic economy rather than work in the household economy, emphasize women's activity and get them to participate more in various areas. It is also necessary to benefit from human resources in the military areas in peacetime, give attention to Yemeni

personnel, give them the wages to which they are entitled, put them in the right place and spot which is assigned to them in accordance with their qualifications, take note of differences between labor in management and labor in material production and distinguish in wages and rights between them. This is something which requires a gradual review of manpower planning and distribution in accordance with careful scientific study.

In spite of the successes which have been achieved in the execution of the second 5-year plan for the years 1981-85, there are a number of observations which must be referred to in the context of this consideration, in light of the difficulties the forms of social ownership, the government sector and the cooperative sector, suffered from in the past period and the clash between the decrees taken to improve their conditions through practical measures and a stand contradictory to them which the persons who stood at the head of the party and the regime, the conspirator 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and his clique, nourished and exercised. That all led to the emergence of some pathological phenomena in the life of the society and the government agencies which the private and individual sector benefited from and developed. These vile phenomena included the phenomena of corruption through the discharge of import permits for automobiles, furniture and so forth to certain persons and the disbursement of financial aid in large sums from government funds. Among the things the symbol of treason, 'Ali Nasir, aimed at was to alienate people and buy their integrity through these practices, not to speak of their exemption from government levies, the furnishing of the homes of some officials to the exclusion of others out of government funds, the provision of unnecessary aid and disbursements in exorbitant form for treatment abroad, not for people who actually were in need of that or people whom it would have been difficult to treat locally -- rather, that came to lie within the category of excursions, nothing else, and at exorbitant costs.

In this regard, we would like to refer to the need to treat workers whom it is difficult to treat locally, specifically those whose sources of income are modest and whose families are large, since that requires that the state carry out a group of measures which are aimed at increasing specialized doctors and people with high expertise in the area of medicine and supplying existing hospitals with the most modern means, equipment, laboratories, systems and necessary modern medical facilities -- provided that allocations be set aside for that from allocations made for treatment abroad and that we exert efforts in the future for the sake of establishing and building hospitals for this purpose, with the need to train and accredit Yemeni personnel in nursing and health and emphasize intermediate personnel. In addition there were the embezzlement of the public money of the government and the society, as actually happened in the ADEN NEWS AGENCY and the Yemeni National Bank branch of Say'un Directorate, a sum which came to 1.3 million dinars, embezzlements in housing, which came to a sum of more than 70,000 dinars, manipulation of public property within the government sector, and other cases which have become a heavy burden on the new situation, and that requires that all these phenomena be uprooted and fought without mercy and that the persons committing them and the people who constantly stand behind them be held to account in the disclosure of the remaining pockets whose thinking still bears this sort of vestige.

The cooperative sector is no longer a factor for the attraction of small producers, with the benefits it provides -- indeed, in some cases it has

become an obstruction to the development of small production, has shifted from the production and pursuit of service methods and suffers from many obstacles, while not helping to eliminate them. In addition to all that, the symbol of treason and his clique encouraged the rise to prominence of suspicious capitalist production relations and parasitic class forces, which, by virtue of their support from above, became a social base for the Yemeni deviationist platform, in addition to the civil bureaucracy within the agencies of the government and the public sector which on the surface preserve public ownership and have not managed the government organizations economically in the proper manner. Through this, many productive installations suffered from an annual deficit; these came to more than 50 percent of the government organizations, 85 percent of the state farms and most of the co-operatives, not to speak about the drop in investment revenues of most of the projects carried out in past years.

In the framework of this atmosphere, the activity of the private and individual sector stood out and began to expand and assume greater magnitude than had been specified for it, and it used some government resources, in spite of the decrees adopted to limit that, in light of a lack of surveillance of its activity. The private sector started to violate laws and statutes, include some leadership personnel, raise wages and prices, speculate in them and hide and smuggle foodstuffs and consumer goods. In brief, it became an obstacle to growth and development and in its overall conduct contradicted the class essence of the political and social system in our country.

In spite of the successes which were achieved in regard to supplies, some problems which have to be settled and some bad phenomena still exist and will be eliminated only by strengthening the systems of surveillance over prices so that they may play their part in carrying out the surveillance law, help them resolve their difficulties and assist them with the necessary resources and means for their operations, as well as improving the imported varieties of the country's requirements in accordance with the program so that they may conform to the country's policy, following sound methods for that and avoiding all violations relative to the program. The period to come will require the suspension of all types of imports other than to the organizations which have been given permits, as happened in the past in Martyrs' Square.

Bringing commodities to markets at the right time throughout the country is considered an important matter, since this matter witnessed a lack of organization, specifically regarding types of commodities, during the past period, and led to the creation of a black market, trafficking and smuggling in goods and shaking of the confidence of the inhabitants. The political decree requiring that marketing be organized is to be considered an important matter which must be adhered to, developed and carried out in a creative manner, to guarantee the supply of goods through their specified channels, the surveillance of that and the stock-taking of people disrupting it, the development of the marketing organizations, their provision with the necessary resources for carrying out their tasks, particularly the fish and vegetable organizations, and their development to absorb surplus quantities in production through the efforts the workers in the country exert, since this situation requires a comprehensive economic reform for the country.

The Main Trends in the Third 5-Year Economic and Social Development Plan for the Years 1986-90

Female comrades, male comrades:

The third 5-year plan constitutes a new point of departure in the course of the coordinated programmed development of all progressive branches of the economy, productive relations and productive forces in a manner which will guarantee an increase in the rates of economic growth, continuation of the comprehensive, planned improvement of the toilers' level and the strengthening of the use of scientific principles and methods in administering the domestic economy. The plan is aimed at strengthening the role and status of forms of social ownership in the life of the society, increasing their contribution to social production and answering the material and moral needs of the toilers. It also has the goal of turning toward the realization of the best possible degree of socialist-oriented development of the functions of the trade sector by increasing reliance on local production in responding to the needs of the local market, stabilizing supply conditions in the republic, developing commercial relations with the socialist countries, increasing exports of domestic products and giving priority to imports of consumer foodstuffs, requirements of development, spare parts, machinery and equipment in a manner which will serve the goals of development and, under the guidance of these trends, will consecrate further development efforts, in the current period, with the goal of realizing new growth rates in the sectors of agriculture and fish, industry, building and construction, transport and communications, social services and mineral and geological exploration. It is incumbent on the workers of the country, headed by the working class and its union movement, alongside the party and mass organizations and agencies of the government, to exert the maximum efforts to guarantee the performance of the tasks which the plan includes and ensure the provision of the materials needed to reach its goals, by concentrating on nourishing the sources of internal accumulation, limiting unnecessary expenses, properly preparing the planning budgets, guiding employment of the workforce, developing the economic and financial activity of the government and cooperative sector organizations, concentrating all the government's funds in the general government budget, guaranteeing its disbursement in an economic manner and setting out executive plans and programs in the context of the various economic units and branches, from lower to higher. To this end, efforts must be made to strengthen and deepen the party's leadership role.

The indices and figures which have been relied on in preparing this element are the orientations which were spelled out at the third general conference of the Yemeni Socialist Party. However, because of the individual acts of the opportunistic right wing, under the leadership of the conspirator 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and his apostate clique, who committed the greatest and vilest conspiracy against the people, the party and the nation on 13 January 1986, and their negative practices against the domestic economy and public funds, these indices will be subject to change in the light of the economic destruction which has afflicted the country, since part of the plan investments will be directed toward eliminating the economic, social and psychological effects of the failed coup attempt and the sabotage which befell the capital, Aden, in installations, machinery, equipment, commodity and

foodstuff warehouses, spare parts warehouses, water and oil tanks, fuel and electricity stations and many vital economic installations, causing grievous damage to our country's domestic economy, in addition to the great human losses of the historic, experienced leadership of our party, in their forefront Fattah, 'Antar, Muslih, Sha'i' and other members of the central committee, party, civilian and military personnel and innocent members of the masses of our people.

Therefore, it is expected that many of the figures and indices which were set will be changed. In this regard, the people, headed by the Yemeni working class, must bear a basic part of the responsibility in this difficult period of the history of the revolution, in this time when the conspiracies of the class forces hostile to our people and their revolutionary orientations are increasing in order to detract from our sovereignty and exercise various kinds of economic pressure and economic blockade. We will be able to overcome this ordeal only through the lofty execution of the third 5-year development plan projects and through an increase in productivity, development of the government sector and the cooperative sector, the optimum use of public money, sound treatment of the means of public ownership, creation of an aware position regarding labor and discipline in it, reduction of expenditures, an increase in public resources, the optimum use of foreign currency and oversight of its disbursement, the pursuit of stringent austerity policies and the avoidance by the country and the people of economic risks of the utmost difficulty. The production initiatives the workers and laborers have manifested in various governorates of the country, the financial contributions from their wages, salaries and incomes on behalf of the reconstruction of the capital, Aden, the participation in eliminating the negative effects on the domestic economy through the 13 January 1986 conspiracy and reduction of the government's burden, as part of society's contribution, which are to be considered truly a brave stand to be added to the Yemeni working class' constant positions as it supplies its party and people with all its resources and its creative initiatives and monthly and periodic volunteer work days whose execution it has declared, and which it has in fact carried out in the past months of this year, all flow into the process of the dominance of the effects of the conspiracy in a rapid manner and reconstruction of the capital.

The matter requires the continued organization and execution of these volunteer activities, their connection to the execution of the third 5-year development plan projects and production plans and the pursuit of new patterns in this area. What we are concerned to indicate at this point is that the workers should have a basic role in discussing the plans of the work organizations and facilities, commit themselves to their indices, carry them out on schedule and work to make up for the previous period of this year, which has negatively affected the execution of the production plans. Consequently, it requires that all the union committees and all the country's workers shorten the execution periods of the plans for this year and every year as a practical response to all the enemy's attempts to make our regime submit economically following its grievous failure in bringing it down militarily. This also requires of the working class that it protect the achievements of the revolution and vigilantly protect it from the manipulation of the conspiratorial and vindictive workers of intrigue, and that it be permanently

ready to defend it and protect the progressive national regime in our country.

The general unions, the labor councils in the governorates and directorates and the union committees bear the burden of organizing and mobilizing the efforts of the working class and marshalling it to perform its tasks and productive duties for the sake of raising and developing the domestic economy, so that the techniques of the production contests, production matches and competitions, mass initiatives, volunteer work teams and collective work contracts and their development and expansion will become an essential part of the system of the management of economic and social activities.

The Organizational Aspect of Economic Activity in the Union Boards and Committees

Female comrades, male comrades:

The organizational issue of economic activity and the followup of it in the union movement and at a great level in the union groups was marred during the past period by some deficiencies, beginning with the economic department's activity and the failure to plan by holding consultative meetings with the corresponding departments in the general unions and the labor councils in the governments and ending with the presentation of their meetings alongside the failure to hold the meetings of the higher production contest committee. It experienced a disruption in the past period and the excuse of the higher contest committee members' failure to attend was made, which led to a change in the higher committee for the third time. However, even with the formation of the new one, none of its meetings were held except this year, 1986, in addition to the holding of a number of consultative meetings and visits to work facilities. This negative consideration applies to many of the union boards. We realize that meetings and gatherings are not a goal in themselves but a means for monitoring and pausing to consider the activity and results at the scheduled times and for eliminating deficiencies in work in a timely manner.

The activity of the economic departments in some general unions and labor councils was hedged about by a form of red-tape office work at a time when the union committees were suffering from various difficulties in their activity, starting with the failure to make the best choice of their members and certain people's inability to bear their responsibilities and tasks in the requisite manner and proceeding through their failure to discuss the issues on which they ought to have had opinions and conduct coordination in regard to that with the department, and the failure to prompt the workers to carry out the economic duties that lay upon them, the alienation of union committees from the exercise of their rights and the pressing of workers into production issues were an issue that was beset with many shortcomings.

The result was the neglect of wrongful practices, the decline in the levels of execution of the production plan, disregard for some workers' rights, disruptions in the performance of duties, a negative position and other things which we will deal with critically in this part of the report. The current situation needs, indeed requires, that the union committees and

groups of workers in the various work and production facilities exert exceptional efforts and assimilate all the instructions of the leadership in uplifting the country's economic and social conditions as well as possible. The activity is defined in the economic plan, and through execution the workers will innovate the patterns and methods which will lead to rapid execution, the reduction of expenses, improvement of the quality of products and other standards which constantly demonstrate exceptional abilities and the regular accumulation of every new aspect of work. The workers' observations regarding the execution and approval of plans and performance reports and their discussion must receive greater attention in the coming period, in keeping with the substance of the laws in effect in the country.

Through a review of what was stated in the union movement's general report presented to the third general conference and the general report presented to the fourth general conference, we can observe that the previous leadership did not exert any effort to explain what had to be done, link decrees to execution and conclusions regarding actual conditions and direct the general unions, the workers' councils and their overseers to carry out these conferences' decrees -- a task in which conspicuous successes have not yet been realized in the desired manner. This is a matter which cannot remain as it is in any case since the time has come for all new ideas to come into being and become daily issues in the activity of the workers, the union committees, the labor councils in the centers, directorates and governorates and the general unions.

The Position Regarding Labor and Self-Discipline within It

Female comrades, male comrades:

The program of the Yemeni Socialist Party has urged "It is necessary to educate and re-educate the masses and persuade them," through their own practical experience, that their level of welfare and their material and cultural life essentially depend on their perseverant position regarding work and the extent of their self-discipline, awareness and organization. Proceeding from this premise, the extreme importance of an aware position on work, discipline in it and the effects of that on raising work and production rates and improving the toilers' standard of living is defined. Any disruption in that will reflect itself negatively on overall conditions in the country. Lenin defined this task by saying "The new society will triumph only in the circumstances of a rise in work productivity, and it is important to inculcate the spirit of discipline in work."

Concerning this consideration, we may point out that in spite of the proliferation of talk about the subject of positions on work, self-discipline within it and the maximum use of work hours, tangible successes have not yet been realized, and the situation continues to vary from one work installation to another. That may be attributed to a number of causes, one of which is that the notion of positions on work and the discipline that requires concerns workers only, to the exclusion of others, and does not affect the leaders, some of whom have a negative position. This imposes itself on the general position. In this regard, the substance of work legislation and statutes is not carried out as far as rewards and punishments regarding people

who are productive on the job or deficient in carrying out their commitments and duties alike are concerned. The situation has been restricted to workers alone, with respect to one consideration, which is the imposition of penalties with respect to people who commit disruptions. This error in itself must be corrected rapidly and all party, government and mass leaders must take part in that (specifically the unions and people's oversight) so that positions on work will be the cause of all workers and the various leaders in every work and production facility and oversight will remain constant, not on the part of one party but in collective form, and that in addition organizational methods will be pursued regarding the observation of lost time, such as "forms," monthly reports and so forth.

Although a number of recommendations were submitted by the central council regarding negative aspects in work discipline, the treatment of these observations did not meet with the requisite concern from the former union leadership or the government. These included the style of a lack of decisiveness in the period before the 13 January events, and positions on work are still characterized by negative elements, since lost work hours and hours not used on behalf of the job are conspicuous in the form of delays, departures during work hours and delays in execution of duties, matched by constant payments for overtime work which in past years have amounted to large sums that have oppressed the government's general budget.

The method of handling overtime has become unsound in terms of the failure to get the union committees to take part in setting it and agreeing to it. On the other hand, it is now at fixed rates monthly and no longer based on the work performed in productive activities and the time that is supposed to be set aside and connected to performance, and there is an absence of stringent oversight to limit the spread of this serious habit, which has become one of the people's rights and is matched by a deficiency in the performance of work and the failure properly to carry out plans in general.

The payment of overtime must be in necessary cases only, and the measures the council of ministers adopted in its Decrees 11 and 13 for 1986 must be developed and their execution observed in a constant fashion.

The observations on the deterioration of the position regarding work in some facilities includes the reason that there is labor in excess of facilities' capacity, in addition to a lack in organization of workers' tasks in some administrative and service installations through the creation of a plan for the individual and his tasks, strict observation of it and oversight of its execution. This negative consideration does not just affect positions regarding work -- rather, it affects the economic situation in the country, since its dangers in draining off large sums on labor which is not used in the productive process is very great. Indeed, its existence in this situation causes social and political problems. This issue requires rapid treatment during the period to come on the part of the government, with actual participation on the part of the union movement. The matter does not require the adoption of a group of decrees (which are numerous); rather, it requires practical measures and constant stringent surveillance of them in a rapid manner, provided that the government bodies bear their responsibilities and work to carry out their duties and tasks in the desired manner.

Wage and Incentive Systems

Wages and various forms of incentives play a stimulating role in carrying out production, economic and social plans and raising production rates, as well as raising the workers' standard of living and improving their incomes. Our party's program has referred to the proper use of material and moral incentives and attention to the volume and quality of work. The intelligent combination of moral encouragement and the toilers' material interests in the results of their work is necessary for the sake of building the new society in Democratic Yemen and seeking guidance by the principle which says that a person who contributes a greater share of production and production development deserves more to derive a greater share of benefit from the distribution of material bounties.

Proceeding from this premise, the second 5-year economic and social development plan for the years 1981-85 had the goal of tying increases in work productivity to increases in wages while making a distinction between productive and service work facilities. In addition to the annual increase in wages, which comes to 1.5 percent in the productive and service work facilities, while lie within the annual allowances, an additional increase in wages has also been stipulated, ranging from 1.5 to 3 percent, in exchange for each 10 percent increase in productivity in productive facilities, while a distinction is made among these facilities as well.

This principle was determined as part of the goals of the third 5-year economic and social development plan for the years 1986-90.

During the period since the fourth general General Federation of Unions conference, developments have occurred in wages and incentive systems and a relative reform has taken place in wage structures, but this issue in its general form continued to suffer from weakness which affected labor productivity, since, outside of some productive facilities, wages continued to be paid in exchange for hours of work (by time), with the deficiency and negative aspects which accompanied that, while wages are supposed to be paid by work accomplished (since piece wages are wages by work accomplished). In addition to the payment of wages by time, sums for overtime work and a number of raises are paid out, and none of that is reflected in production or production increases.

The situation requires sound distribution of work, the setting out of proper work criteria and standards and the setting out of wages in accordance with work circumstances and difficulty. It is not possible to unify the wages of staff, personnel and workers in all large and small organizations alike, and it is necessary to improve the wages of leadership workers, engineers and so forth by setting out personnel [charts], from the ministries to their industrial organizations essentially. There are at present personnel and engineers working in the offices of the ministries for greater wages than those of their counterparts working in direct activity in the sectors of material production. The situation also requires the setting out of unified designations for professions and positions and the organization of wages and categories of workers, in addition to the tightening of surveillance over the disbursement of wages and the setting out of strict penal measures vis-a-vis all violations in this respect.

The wages of employees in the private sector are greater than those of employees in the government sector. The reason for that may be attributed to the failure to impose surveillance on private sector activity and impose escalating taxes on its activity and continuous reduction of its status. [In] work in the private sector, employers also commit deception with regard to labor legislation, which prevents employees from receiving their rights in accordance with the labor law and the social insurance law. The system of incentives which was approved 3 years ago and is considered a general form of it has not been dealt with in a manner which articulates the tasks desired of it, and few are the organizations which have prepared incentive systems on the basis of this system and have achieved successes in their activity.

There are other organizations for which incentive systems have been set out, although without the approval of the bodies concerned with this. A broad number of organizations have not dealt with this system and through this activity on their part are concealing employees' rights and venturing on activity which does not help the country mobilize all the workers' powers on behalf of the creative execution of plans and the realization of high rates in the area of work and production.

The forms of unofficial bonuses and incentives that are being granted in some service facilities are in most cases a reliance on the collective grant of unofficial bonuses and incentives, with the grant of a 13th month's salary to workers which however is not founded on any system, standard or basis. This measure causes the employees to look for such incentives, but they are not in effect an element of encouragement -- rather, they have become an annual right regardless of the payout and results of the job, looking instead at the general form of the results of a facility or organization and calling for the setting out of material and moral incentive systems in their detailed forms.

The Stabilization of Supplies Is an Important Achievement

One of the most important things which characterize the revolutionary experience in Democratic Yemen under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party is the stabilization of the supply situation in the country and the stabilization and firming up of most prices for basic commodities, which has helped the country's workers plan and program their lives on the basis of their incomes. Among the results of the execution of the second 5-year plan, the volume of trade in 1985 came to about 235.1 million dinars, and the volume of commodity transactions rose, coming to approximately 275.9 million dinars, that is, a rate of increase of 38.3 percent. Thus the per capita share of commodity transactions rose from 27.5 to 44 percent. The third 5-year plan in the agricultural sector also has the goal of creating an increase in improved areas, since a number of agricultural projects, such as the development of state farms and cooperatives, are being carried out, some basic pharmaceuticals are being developed in the republic, dams will be built and there will be projects to produce meat and eggs and guidance and research projects.

In the fish sector, the project of the fishing harbor in Aden will be completed, a fish institute will be built and fish cooperatives will be

developed. The government sector and the cooperative sector will be supplied with boats and new fishing equipment with improved specifications to develop coastal fishing. Work will also be done to provide coastal facilities which will also offer numerous services to fishing boats such as the storage and preservation of products as well as the execution of research and guidance projects. In addition, the construction of direct harbors in the port of Aden, completion of the construction of a rear harbor in al-Mukalla and the construction of the Nashtun harbor are among the other factors which will help stabilize and improve supplies.

It is expected that with the end of the plan, taking note of the anticipated increase in the volume of local production, some decline will occur in the volume of imports, which will lead to a drop in the volume of trade from 235.1 million dinars to 213.2 million, that is, a rate of decline of 13.6 percent, while a rise will occur in the volume of commodity trade from 275.9 million dinars to 353.8 million, that is, a rate of increase of 28.3 percent. Thus the per capita share will come to 144 dinars as compared with 127.5 dinars in 1985, or a rate of increase of 12.9 percent, and the local production sectors' contribution to the total volume of commodity transactions will be about 55 percent as compared with 44 percent in 1985. Priority will be given to foodstuffs in the volume of commodity imports, since their share will rise from 31.7 to 34.7 percent. The basic tasks in this regard include the development of trade with the socialist countries, which is expected to rise from 25 to 45 percent. The plan has also the aim of increasing the public sector's role in internal trade through expansion in the construction of consumer complexes and an increase in the number of wholesale and retail shops to respond to citizens' needs for food and consumer commodities. In this regard, consumer cooperatives play an important, basic role in the distribution of foodstuffs and all consumer goods to citizens in various governorates of the republic. This matter requires that attention be given by the party and government to the development and strengthening of these cooperatives' role, resolution of the difficulties they face and improvement of their accounting systems and performance, so that they will be able to carry out their missions and offer their services to the citizens as thoroughly as possible.

It is expected that the value of foodstuffs will come to 200 million dinars in 1990 as compared with 169 million dinars in 1985, that is, a rate of increase of 18.3 percent. Thus, the per capita share of foodstuffs will be 82 dinars in 1990 as compared with 78 dinars in 1985. The economic and social development plan's goals of stability and development of the supply situation in the country impose important responsibilities on the Yemeni working class in the course of the attainment of the goals of the party and the government, since responsible interaction with the people's sustenance, intensive supervision of it, the fight against all forms of speculation, price fraud, embezzlement and theft of public funds, and the provision of the best services to the people are a consequence of that, and the task of increasing production, reducing and improving its costs, supplying it in the desired manner, transporting it with the least waste and storing it in a proper manner are designated to be among the basic tasks in the activity of the country's workers.

Production Contests: A Way of organizing and Mobilizing the Masses

Female comrades, male comrades:

With the celebration by the masses of our people of the 23rd anniversary of the triumphant 14 October revolution, in the course of this very short life, the experiment of the production contests in our country is entering its fourth year. Through this experiment, the unions have taken a new approach in the course of their perseverant struggle, and a proper technique in the direction of attracting workers in the various work and production facilities to carry out production plans and economic and social development plans. The production contests have realized good successes in the context of their implantation through the good percentages which are being realized in the plans of organizations that engage in production contests throughout the governorates of the republic and through the reduction of expenses, the increase of revenues, improvement in the disposition of products and the increase in the organizations' profitability. The past period has also witnessed an expansion in the number of facilities taking part in the production contests, since their number rose from 21 in 1980 to 64 by the end of 1985.

The technique of production contests is considered one of the forms the unions have followed in the context of their contributions to execution of the economic and social development plans, on the basis of the Leninist principles of socialist contests, the most important of which is the openness of the contests, the comparison of results, the general application of the best and most preferable experiences and expertise, the proper connection between material and moral incentives and the results of the contest and cooperation and mutual aid among the people taking part in the contests in accordance with the particular characteristics of our situation, in execution of the decrees the fourth general conference of unions produced -- this task which lies among those the Yemeni Socialist Party's program defined in the course of its definition of the tasks that the unions are responsible for when it pointed out "The unions, alongside the boards and organizations of the party and the government, bear great responsibility in raising the level of the toilers' material and spiritual life, expanding democracy and getting the toilers to participate in administering and overseeing production affairs and planning work and production. They (that is, the unions) must organize and mobilize the masses to struggle on behalf of developing social production, raising work productivity, strengthening work discipline, exercising surveillance over the disposition of raw materials, electric power, water and other materials, and fighting the phenomena of economic and social sabotage decisively and without mercy."

The party has also presented the unions with the task of developing and expanding production contests in the coming period because of the importance they have occupied and the great significance they have borne in the way of mobilizing workers to struggle for the sake of developing social production, raising work productivity and imposing the mission on management of resolving difficulties to which it is exposed and which obstruct its development.

The production contests, with the positive results they have realized in work, among them improvement of positions regarding work and a start on the

embodiment of the combative relationship between unions and peasants through the execution of production contests in agricultural cooperatives, and other forms of this relationship which in the coming period must observe receptive horizons in a manner embodying the firm combative relationship between the Yemeni working class and the peasants in cooperatives and creating comradely relations among the workers themselves, have also underlined some negative aspects of work, beginning with the higher committee of production contests, which did not meet on a regular basis and did not plan its activity in the desired manner, and the negative effect of that on the activity of the committees of production contests in the governorates, as well as the alienation between the higher committee of contests and the base committees subordinate to it, and the failure to respond to the difficulties they present and whose solution, or conveyance to the central bodies concerned, they demand.

Some contest committees in the governorates, except for Aden and Hadramawt, were not regular in their activity for their part. On the one hand the contests in their proper form, as was the case in the Governorate of Abyan, for example, did not proceed to evolve into a matter of public competitions, the labor council in the governorate had a peripheral role and the local authorities assumed this task (this was in the period before the 13 January 1986 events), which is to be considered interference in the affairs of the unions and suspension of their tasks, while the style of the contests was not handled in a constant, developed manner, as was the case in the Governorate of Lahij, for example. This state of affairs and these notions were corrected recently and the labor councils throughout the governorates assumed the task of leading the production initiatives under the guidance of the Yemeni Socialist Party and worked to study the conditions of the production contests and develop them through the holding of seminars and the general application of experiences and benefit, as was the case in Aden and Hadramawt. The higher committee of production contests started its activities this year and various committees were organized for this. The future task remains one of preserving this organization, planning, activity, the development of it, the organization and planning of meetings and gatherings and their linkup with the definition of the members' practical and direct tasks and assignments and the performance of field visits to workers and base committees.

The production contests in our country have taken place in accordance with the nomination of facilities by the committees, after confirmation that the minimum conditions exist. They have not been dealt with on the basis of conviction and voluntary acceptance by the workers. That is considered one of the negative aspects of the organization of production contests.

The enthusiasm of the country's employees and workers toward the production contests and their conviction in them are to be considered basic points if they are to continue and develop and the participants in them are to expand. On the other hand, the production contests, when carried out, did not occur on the basis of the distribution of work and workers among competing groups and work teams -- rather, the competition took place among corresponding facilities in work, state farms for instance -- and the production contests were not connected to material and moral incentive systems. In addition the unions and government did not work to provide non-regular incentives to

workers, units, teams, facilities, directors or governorates that were outstanding in the execution of production contests, on the basis of the results they achieved, and, if non-regular incentives were provided, they were spontaneous and seasonal. In the absence of this consideration, the production contests lost their reason for developing and expanding. The unions and the government, under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party, are supposed to help with the resolution of this matter.

What can be recorded in this regard, among the elements of deficiency in the activity of the production contests, is that treatment of the production contests by some leaders of organizations and facilities whose workers are carrying out the production contests has not been in the form desired, since the unions have started to bear the major burden of organization, the resolution of the problems of work and so forth, while everything bearing on meeting the requirements of the plans arising from the success of the production contests and their execution of the goals which the forms of the workers' commitments and undertakings determine lies within the responsibilities of management, indeed within its pressing duties toward the production contests, and the union party is responsible for the issue of organizing the workers and expanding their participation in carrying out the goals of the contests. In addition, the party base organizations must lead the production contests in accordance with the basis of Leninist principles and the basis that the experience of the production contests in the past 6 years has shown that there is a readiness on the part of the working class to help carry them out. However, the problems which arise from the process of carrying out the productive plans and the failure to continue with the realization of increases in production largely obstruct the contests. Paramount among these difficulties is the accumulation of production in warehouses and the failure to dispose of it, for example tobacco in Hadramawt, in addition to an absence of protection of national products from competition from their imported equivalents, in addition to a deficiency in spare parts and raw materials.

The higher committee of production contests has presented a number of recommendations which are aimed at improving the activity of production contests, proceeding from the premise that raising work productivity is not considered a goal in itself but is considered an effective, necessary condition for our country's economic progress, and it is necessary to realize a surplus to serve the development of the productive sectors and improve the toilers' material and moral life. From the table below, we will show the positive results the facilities in the contests achieved in carrying out their plans in the years 1983, 1984 and 1985, in addition to the annual expansion in the number of facilities which deal with the production contests as a means for carrying out the production plans [see following page].

Voluntary Mass Labor Initiatives

Female comrades, male comrades:

One of the constant elements in the process of mass action in our country, which is constantly developing, is the issue of the voluntary mass initiatives of the workers and all the toilers in our country, which have constantly assumed a character connected to the execution of the economic and

| Year | Number of Facilities Entering the Production Contests | Number of Facilities Exceeding 100 Percent Execution of Their Plans | Number of Facilities Whose Rate of Plan Execution Has Fluctuated | Number of Facilities Whose Rate of Plan Execution Was below 80 Percent |
|------|---|---|--|--|
| 1983 | 43 | 30 | 6 | 7 |
| 1984 | 52 | 23 | 14 | 15 |
| 1985 | 64 | 32 | 12 | 10 |

social development plan projects, social projects and social, development, sanitation, production and other projects. The base of the workers taking part in the mass initiatives is expanding annually and their enthusiasm is increasing. The unions have developed the organization of mass initiatives by declaring one volunteer labor day per year in a comprehensive fashion in all governorates with the participation of all mass organizations and military institutions. This step is considered a development and an advanced organization of the mass initiatives, if the efforts of all the workers and laborers throughout the country are united within a single day to guide them toward executing the various projects and activities on which agreement has been reached on the basis of the programs that are set out for them. The reception of voluntary initiatives has also improved, their organization has improved and their value and financial, political and cultural returns have increased. The mass media agencies have played a substantial role in bringing the content and significance of these initiatives and activities to all the masses and presenting their results, and the value of the volunteer activities the workers carried out in the period from 1983 to the first half of 1986 came to 517,481.970 dinars, according to the details in the table below [see following page]:

The value of the activities carried out by the volunteer work teams on which a start was made in 1983 in the transport and communications, general services and educational occupations unions came to 175,865 dinars. Their activity was connected to the execution of some work and production facilities' plans, repairs in schools and installations and the execution of development plan projects. However, in spite of the great results the workers' mass volunteer initiatives have achieved, a number of negative elements and deficiencies have occurred in conjunction with them in the past period, in spite of the improvement the period during the first half of this year witnessed, specifically on the 1986 volunteer work day, and the initiatives and volunteer activities which followed and preceded it. These constituted a direct reaction on the part of the country's workers to the failed coup conspiracy the symbol of treason, the hireling 'Ali Nasir, devised and carried out in January 1986.

Among the most important gaps and deficiencies which occurred in conjunction with the volunteer work initiatives was the failure properly to prepare and arrange for some activities which resulted from a lack of previous work

| General Union | Value of the Initiatives in Dinars | Labor Councils | Value of the Initiatives in Dinars |
|---|--|-----------------------|--|
| Union of Banks | 20,823.000 | Lahij Governorate | 2,755.800 |
| Oil Union | 29,255.000 | | |
| Public Services Union | 159,050.000 | Abyan Governorate | 27,972.400 |
| Fish Union | 12,038.933 | | |
| Textile Union | 6,641.000 | Shabwah Governorate | 19,579.000 |
| Transport and Communi- cations Union | 27,441.444 | | |
| Construction and Build- ing Union | 36,220.159 | Hadramawt Governorate | 86,207.131 |
| Educational Occupations Union | 8,018.000 | | |
| Agricultural Workers' Union | 18,177.396 | Al-Mahrah Governorate | 14,558.491 |
| Food Industries Union | 6,561.995 | | |
| Culture and Information Union | 16,181.500 | | |

programs which could be carried out in coordination among the union committees, management, party base organizations and mass base organizations. The previous period proved that the workers have the readiness and enthusiasm to carry out the various forms of initiatives and this readiness and enthusiasm require the mobilization, encouragement and orientation of the masses toward execution of the economic and social development projects more than at any time in the past and the organization of these efforts so that their results will be obvious to the workers themselves and discernible to them. It is also necessary to work to carry out social and cultural recreation projects on behalf of the workers, and it is necessary to think about this starting this year, for maximum benefit from all the powers of the workers, specifically in the non-productive facilities. As for the productive facilities, no great problems exist so far, but need requires that more organization take place on behalf of the workers' initiative and maximum use of the time of the initiatives for the sake of production and production increases, and attention to workers' initiatives in the development of production, improvement of production quality and reduction of spending. These are all broad fields which enter into the scope of the workers' initiatives that have not yet been addressed in the desired form.

Among the negative features that exist in the execution of the mass initiatives is the failure of some leaders of administrative, party and mass

facilities to attend and participate. Thus, these leaders have not been an example to the workers in such volunteer activities as these, and this has left its marks in the negative sense on the workers' enthusiasm. On the other hand, the lack of activities to absorb large numbers of workers for its part was one of the reasons for the difficulties with the mass initiatives which the unions are calling for in all the governorates. That is to be considered an anomaly in the activity of the country's workers. This issue must be resolved rapidly, with participation on the part of the leaders of the party and the government, so that through it it will be possible for the mass initiatives to have their economic, political and educational value.

The unions have determined that every initiative the workers carry out should have a financial value to be determined in accordance with the bases which have been defined and all these sums are to be transferred to a special bank account. However, few are the facilities which have dealt with this guideline, and many installations still are dealing with it negatively. The unions have determined that the yields from voluntary action days and mass initiatives must contribute to this in the development of the country and in developing union activity, and it is necessary that haste be made on the part of all in sound treatment of the mass initiatives with all their orientations.

The mass initiatives have not been restricted to the volunteer work day which it has been determined will be the second Friday of the month of March each year. Rather, they have assumed various forms, especially this year, 1986, in accordance with the circumstances of each facility and each governorate. These initiatives, whose continuation we are advocating, must be organized, developed and expanded to be connected to the country's issues and participate in solving part of the difficulties it is suffering from. What our country's workers have shown in their various initiatives and in their material contributions, through their donations of part of their salaries for various periods of this year, is to be considered in itself a revolutionary act which arises from the genuine nature of the working class in our country and its assumption of its responsibilities in various circumstances, and the initiatives and donations it has voluntarily offered in order to eliminate the effects of the failed coup attempt which sought to obstruct the development of the revolution and strike out at the party are of no less importance than its confrontation of this conspiracy, defense of its giant party, the Yemeni Socialist Party, and its constant sacrifices on behalf of continuing the attainment of victories, since the value of the volunteer activities it carried out in March 1986 alone came to 97,000 dinars, while the sums the workers contributed out of their wages and salaries up to June 1986 came to 138,273.770 dinars. These are trivial items of evidence, in numbers, but are great in their significance. All these numbers will certainly rise in the remaining period of this year and every year, to constitute, with the contributions and donations of the peasants, fishermen and other toilers of Democratic Yemen, in addition to the contributions of the technical teams in some governorates, a splendid picture of the domestic masses' relations with their giant party and its effect on society and its influential leading role in it.

The future will be more brilliant and more active and will entail greater gains for the masses. The future also requires the continuation of the

struggle to carry out various obligations, and the contributions of the Yemeni working class remain the basis as far as the progress our country is acquiring and the victories it is realizing are concerned.

Chapter Four

Social Insurance, the Level of Gains and the Rights the Unions Enjoy in the Current Stage of Development of the Revolution and the National Democratic Regime

Female comrades, male comrades:

In view of the importance of integrating economic activity with improvement in the standard of the workers and their work circumstances, the outcome of 5 years of the struggle of the various groups of our union movement for the sake of performing these increasing tasks imposed upon it as far as industrial relations, industrial safety and social insurance are concerned has yielded many successes which have realized a number of gains for our Yemeni working class, and it has underlined a group of difficulties, negative features and failures which our Yemeni working class has suffered from and which have been a natural result of the phenomena of the conscious disruption of constitutional and legal legitimacy which the elements of the coup clique pursued in various party, mass, and government contexts before the painful events of the failed 13 January conspiracy. The results produced by the activity of the various groups of our union movement in this regard during the period between the two conferences assert the validity of our evaluation referred to above in our review of the various aspects of this activity, which has been connected to the areas and levels defined as follows:

First, in the context of the labor council:

Female comrades, male comrades:

The content and democratic character of the laws issued and the platform prevailing in our country, which is aimed at getting the workers and their union and mass organizations to take part in setting out and overseeing the level of applications of the law and legislation issued in a creative democratic way, has met with one form of its expression in our federation's representation in the framework of the labor council which has been drawn up in accordance with the basic labor law by our federation, the Ministry of Labor and other bodies for the purpose of setting out broad plans and offering recommendations to the government in areas related to labor contracts and labor disputes, organizing work and rest times, setting out a policy for wages and incentives, allowances, training matters, manpower accreditation, vocational health and safety and social insurance and investigating and overseeing labor legislation.

Proceeding from the our union movement's specific responsibility in the framework of the labor council, in coordination with the Labor Ministry, the labor council, since its formation in 1978, has been able to set out and issue a group of bills executing labor laws and legislation and regulating

the abovementioned areas of its tasks, where our union movement has had an effective role in enriching these bills with valuable observations and views. This has helped translate the substance and essence of a number of stipulations in law into actual reality and has realized a substantial number of gains for the workers in their practical life. In addition to that, our union movement has also managed, in the past period, through the efforts of its specialized personnel, to express the initiative of offering some recommendations and views concerning bills carrying out the labor laws, such as the view bearing on the tasks of the higher committee of health and vocational safety and the formation [text ends at this point].

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